



# ***Daily Report***

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

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# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

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**ECOWAS Summit on Liberia Scheduled for 29 Jun**

AB2706114591 Paris AFP in French 0157 GMT  
27 Jun 91

[Text] Lagos, 27 Jun (AFP)—A "minisummit" of the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] will be held on 29 June in Abidjan. The summit, which will be attended by the presidents of Ivory Coast, Nigeria, and Togo, will examine the Liberian crisis in preparation for the upcoming ECOWAS summit scheduled to be held from 4 to 6 July in Abuja (Nigeria), diplomatic sources disclosed here last night.

The minisummit between Presidents Houphouet-Boigny, Ibrahim Babangida, and Gnassingbe Eyadema—to be joined possibly by Gambian President Dawda Jawara, according to the same sources—will be essentially devoted to the problem posed by Charles Taylor, leader of the rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL]. Charles Taylor's NPFL has persistently refused to be disarmed despite the cease-fire accord on Liberia signed by all the warring parties. Meanwhile, Charles Taylor's troops are suspected of involvement in fighting against Sierra Leone Government forces backed by a Nigerian contingent. Observers note that Lagos considers the contingent as a purely deterrent force.

**Charles Taylor Not Invited**

AB2706223591 Vojnjamaa Radio ERLV in English  
1900 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Text] The president of the Republic of Liberia, His Excellency Charles Gankay Taylor, has described as pure nonsense recent BBC reports that he is prepared to work out a deal with the Monrovia-based, Banjul-manufactured government of Amos Sawyer. In his BBC interview monitored here, President Taylor dispelled rumors that had been circulated in Nigeria's official tabloid, THE GUARDIAN. The Liberian chief executive stated emphatically that Amos Sawyer and his Monrovia-based politicians have nothing to offer him and the Liberian people. It is the NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly], the interim government, that has everything to offer the Liberian people, including those in Monrovia, the president said. On the question of an interim government, President Taylor said it is an idea that would not work during the prevailing circumstances in the country today.

President Taylor suggested strongly that all parties concerned should go to the polls now to seek the legal mandate of the Liberian people under international supervision. The Liberian chief executive said while he maintained a very high respect for President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, he has, however, not received any invitation to attend any mini-summit neither in the Ivory Coast nor in the uncompleted Nigerian city of Abuja as falsely claimed by the Nigerian Government authorities. It must be recalled that the Nigerian GUARDIAN newspaper was recently closed for publishing wild goose stories.

**\* Future Role of SADCC Debated**

**\* Post-Apartheid Role**

91AF12004 Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Apr/May 91 pp 5-7

[Text] Over the past decade, SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] has been regarded as an ideal regional grouping and donors have been more than willing to fund its multi-billion dollar programme of action. But changes both on the international and regional scenes may be suggesting the honeymoon is over and that the organisation has to come up with new ideas if only to prove its continued relevance.

There were many questions in the air when more than 600 delegates from SADCC's member states and the donors walked into the Windhoek Sports Club's gymnasium on 31st January for the organisation's 11th annual consultative conference. But the chief questions among them were: would SADCC still be relevant in a post-Apartheid Southern Africa and if so, did it have a strategy to survive? Was the organisation ready to meet the challenge of shifting gears from its present excessive dependency on aid to greater regional economic interdependency and regional self-reliance?

The two questions are closely interrelated. Since its inception SADCC has worked hard at establishing the basic regional economic infrastructure and in particular, at reducing its dependence on South Africa in that respect. Its efforts have been greatly rewarded by the financial and technical support which it has received from its donors whose aid has been as much an expression of their opposition to apartheid and as a measure of their commitment of the development of the member states.

Over the 11 years SADCC's success in raking in this aid has been phenomenal; certainly much more than the rate of its spending it. A total of US\$3 billion has been mobilised for the more than 540 largely economic infrastructural projects, which constitute SADCC's programme of action whose present total cost is estimated to be US\$8.2 billion. Donors are becoming nervous about it not only because the programme keeps growing and being added on to but also because 11 years on, there is little evidence of any increase in the spirit of self reliance which was so volubly touted at the Lusaka founding conference of the organisation in 1980.

Reliable estimates put the level of local funding towards the US\$3 billion being spent on these projects so far, as no more than 10 percent—and this all in local currency terms. SADCC's leaders have not been happy with this trend. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, for example, warned that "it is high time SADCC countries realised that support from cooperating partners will not go on indefinitely" when he opened the tenth annual summit in Lusaka last April. He continued, "The development and use of our own resources is therefore imperative."

SADCC has indeed cause to worry. Since the setting in motion of the process of political reform in South Africa, the moral basis for sustaining aid to SADCC at past levels is now being assailed and at a time when the Third World has to battle Eastern Europe for Western aid. Some donors are already saying that after the death of the apartheid system SADCC will become just another African economic grouping deserving of no special priority where aid is concerned. And if there is any doubt as to what this can mean people should see how poorly the aidless ECOWAS (the Economic Organisation of West African States) fares.

Perhaps the real test before SADCC today is not what it might have been intended to be or not to be but rather what role it could play in the context of a post-apartheid South Africa. The conference's final communique repeated what everyone familiar with SADCC already knows, namely that SADCC and the South African liberation movements agree that South Africa will have a role to play in regional cooperation. Indeed the earlier meeting of the council of ministers had already added the caveat that South Africa's continued domination of the region would, however, not be allowed.

But a comprehensive SADCC strategy to deal with the implications of the collapse of apartheid was conspicuous by its absence and this was what donors at the consultative meeting were shaking their heads about as they kept coming up from the conference pavilion for a whiff of fresh air. Didn't the absence of a coherent strategy, against the background of strengthening trade ties with South Africa by some of the SADCC countries, not in fact indicate, as one donor put it, "that SADCC seems to be disintegrating?" And they didn't have far to look.

Trade between SADCC's member states as well as economic cooperation among them outside its infrastructural projects remains low. The SADCC region is not an integrated regional market, more than ten years after its founding. Markets continue as national, fragmented and small. Some countries have entered into preferential trade agreements with South Africa. "Taboo" is indeed the way to describe the possibility of any such agreements with the other SADCC member states. Where they exist they work only perfunctorily, as the agreements between Zimbabwe and two of its neighbours—Malawi and Botswana—show.

Much to the annoyance of some of the region's political leaders and the liberation movements, South Africa businessmen are criss-crossing the region's capitals for new business opportunities. They are featuring in regional business conferences and meetings as though economic sanctions against their country were a thing of the past. Dr. Simba Makoni the Executive Secretary of SADCC, cautions against these premature responses, but he does not condemn them. "SADCC," he says, "is a democratic institution." But Mr Nelson Mandela made it clear at the press conference which he gave during the consultative conference that his organisation discourages

contact between businessmen and South Africa because such actions run against the objective of isolating the apartheid regime.

All of this adds up to a SADCC region lacking any clear perspectives in relation to a post-apartheid South Africa, beyond the continued expectation that South Africa will join SADCC. But even over this apparently safe assumption it is wise to be cautious. Mr Mandela's instinct is for it but as he cautioned in the same press conference in Windhoek, others may have their own ideas. Asked a straight question as to whether a free South Africa would join SADCC, Mr Mandela did not give a straight answer. Instead he replied correctly but long-windedly, "It is not wise to predict what a post-apartheid South Africa will do. This is not a matter that can be decided now. Neither is the ANC [African National Congress] a government nor can it assume that it will be the only party that will be returned to power in a post-apartheid South Africa."

This reply suggests that when it comes to deciding whether to accept the already preferred invitation to a post-apartheid South Africa to join SADCC, the head may have at least as much say as the heart. There are some who will ask why the rest of SADCC cannot join a functioning South African customs union as against an as yet non-existing SADCC common market or economic community. Or simply, why SADCC and not the Preferential Trade Area (PTA)?

But whatever it is, the donors clearly feel that SADCC should be taking the prospect of a free South Africa into account much more than is evident now, in its planning for the future. It is not enough merely to call for the continuation of sanctions. A clearer vision as to how that opportunity for a free South Africa may be exploited for the regional economic good ought to be emerging by now and it isn't. Mr. Ted Morse, USAID's [United States Agency for International Development] director for Zimbabwe summed up the feelings of most donors when he stated, "We believe it is essential to do the research, over the next year, to analyse dynamic regional economic trends which are already running ahead of political change. This is essential for SADCC members to cooperate or compete with a changing South Africa." He continued, "1991 will be the year of the organisation's biggest challenge—to redefine itself in a rapidly changing regional context."

For some time now donors have been speaking up for political pluralism and respect for individual rights as preconditions for continued aid. They have good reason to be pleased with developments in the SADCC region. Over the last year there has been, to quote Mr Ted Morse again, a recognition of the world trend in which there is "a growing desirability of democratic pluralism." Mr

Dementhon of France hoped that the pluralist debate already launched by some will spread all over Southern Africa while Mr Piero De Masi of Italy considered "the entire fulfillment of human rights" to be a fundamental objective of development cooperation.

Nevertheless it was not lost on the donors at the conference that out of SADCC's seven one-party states only Mozambique and Zambia have formally switched to multi-partyism so far. Angola might follow, but in the case of both Angola and Mozambique it would be some time, given the civil strife there, before pluralism would take root—as it has already done in Zambia. Diversity is a good thing, but so is cohesion. The donors are asking whether a healthy basis for economic cooperation can exist among states with political systems as diverse as these in the SADCC region.

At last year's summit in the Botswana capital the council of ministers had to be called in to extinguish the flames of a messy situation involving the dismissal of three SADCC secretariat officials and their appeal against it. This year voices rose over a proposal to allocate fisheries and tourism to the new member—Namibia—taking them away from Malawi and Lesotho, respectively. Malawi put its foot down and it is understood that no less an eminence than the President himself, Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, had ordered it to stay put there. A compromise to split fisheries into two sectors—inland and sea—with Namibia holding the second one, did not resolve the issue and the decision had to be postponed.

Some people argue that inland and sea fishing are as poles apart as chalk and cheese while others maintain that they aren't so different. There is a school of thought which argues that sectoral responsibilities should be reviewed completely in any case with a view to a more logical allocation, now that the membership list, except for South Africa, is complete. Some donors just wonder whether a SADCC which allows itself to be deadlocked over the relatively uncomplicated matter of sectoral responsibilities has the resilience to survive the much more far-reaching compromises that will be required to forge greater regional cooperation. Are individual SADCC member states capable of sacrifice in the interests of the good of their organisation or is it the case that what each holds belongs to it and only what doesn't is negotiable?

#### \* New Measures Taken

91AF1200B Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Apr/May 91 p 8

[Text] The initiatives are belated. But the new measures laid down by SADCC's [South African Development Coordination Conference] council of ministers should boost enterprise and productivity in the region.

Shortly after SADCC's council of ministers meeting opened in a Windhoek hotel last January, the organisation's executive secretary, Dr Simba Makoni, reached out for his usual polite phraseology and said: "Ladies

and gentlemen, those of us who are not delegates from SADCC member states are kindly requested to leave the room." It was a most polite way of kicking the journalists out and in the case of Windhoek, where it seemed that the police brought in to keep order had been especially trained to sniff out reporters, that order was as good as a death sentence of the poor mortals. It did not help matters that to be registered as a reporter one did not only have to produce one's press card but also to complete a form which asked for the most intimate details about oneself such as the colour of the eyes, height, addresses of the three last employers, articles filed in the past, educational qualifications, and so on.

Apparently there were good reasons for restricting information about the goings on to the participants and leaving the press to glean what had gone on through the press briefings. Top among the council's concerns was the worry that current developments on the international scene could result in reduced aid flows. This would have a serious impact on the organisation's capacity to carry out its programme of action, especially given the member states' feeble contributions.

In urging them to pay up the council of ministers made it clear that the members' current economic difficulties could not be used as an excuse. Their communique was quite strident: it said their poor record of contributions had to be seen as a failure "to give expression to the ideals of self reliance." It made a strong appeal to them "to make every effort to increase their contribution." The council went further to instruct the SADCC Secretariat to lay down procedures which would somehow compel member states to pay up their full annual contributions—and on time.

In a move to enforce the development of the spirit of self-reliance, sources close to the conference indicated that from now on small projects and studies costing up to US\$150,000 would be financed locally through the pooling of resources by the beneficiaries. Countries would also do their best to fund projects costing above this amount, with donors' participation being complementary.

Commitment to increased self-reliance did not stop the council of ministers expressing concern about aid flow, and in particular the aid from the European Economic Community (EEC). A poor disbursement record and distribution between the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) and SADCC itself turned out to have been at the bottom of it all.

Last year, SADCC's officials who went up to Brussels to negotiate its aid package under Lome IV found themselves being told to take 121 million ECU (European Community Unit of account)—and this between itself and the PTA and a drastic reduction from the 141 million ECU which SADCC alone got under Lome III and an even deeper [reduction] from the 292 million ECU which SADCC was expecting under Lome IV.

The EEC argued that SADCC was not spending the present grant of 141 million fast enough. What would be the point of increasing the grant when it could not spend what it has? As for the inclusion of the PTA in the reduced grant under the Lome IV indicative programme, the EC's position was that both organisations had been to it for more or less the same projects in as far as Southern Africa was concerned, and so it seemed logical to make a consolidated grant. After all, eight of the ten member states of SADCC are also members of the PTA.

Dr. Makoni told a press conference that his organisation had always been aware of the need to avoid duplication, but he stressed that the Secretariat was not to blame for its occurrence. There are examples of countries which have made bids to the EEC under both SADCC and PTA for the financing of the same project. An example quoted is Zambia which is said to have presented Mpulungu port development project to the EEC under both the SADCC and PTA investment programmes. There is also a potential for duplication in the areas of monetary harmonisation, insurance industry and livestock disease controls, all raising the question as to whether in the long run, harmonisation of the activities of the two organisations can be fully accomplished without a merger.

The EEC grant and member states' obligations were by no means the only issues discussed. The council took concrete steps to facilitate regional economic cooperation. It reviewed the progress made so far in the establishment of the Export Credit facility which it had approved at a previous meeting. That facility will be available to the SADCC exporter to finance the shipping, guarantees and insurance costs of his business. A total of US\$120 million has to be raised before the scheme can take off. Preparations for the launching of a cross-border investment facility are virtually complete when it becomes operational it will greatly enhance opportunities for intra-SADCC regional investments.

These two initiatives, belated though they may be, are crucial to SADCC's new emphasis on enterprise and productivity. Given that aid will reduce, no matter the claims to the contrary, any measures which put SADCC on its feet as these can do in the long term, must be welcomed.

#### \* Increased Trade Urged

91AF1200C Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Apr/May 91 pp 11-13

[Text] The region is crying out for an increase in the volume of intra-SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] trade. SADCC business representatives have been meeting with potential investors to tackle the problem.

Club Makokola, a picturesque resort nestling on the shores of Lake Malawi provided an idyllic setting for this year's conference of the SADCC Regional Business Council (SRBC). But the two-day conference (March 25 and 26) was in no holiday mood as it got down to

business in a regional market of over US\$50 billion in trade but in which intra-regional trade still accounts for only US\$2.5 billion of this total.

The conference was a follow-up to one held in Harare in 1988. With its theme "Invest in SADCC for growth and development" it brought together 130 delegates—30 of them from outside the region—and among them influential investment lobbies like the Bureau de Promotion du Commerce of Canada, the International Council of Swedish Industry and the Associação Portuguesa para o Desenvolvimento Económico e a Cooperação. The intention was that the meeting would be a match-making one, pairing off local investors with projects to promote with their foreign counterparts. In fact it never got to this partly because there were few, if any, worthwhile projects for involving foreign partners and also simply because this just isn't the way it's done.

Nonetheless, the conference managed to provide a forum for the exchange of views in a region suffering a dearth of brainstorming opportunities.

Malawi's finance minister, Mr Louis Chimango, set the tone at the opening by remarking that "trade and industrial development in the SADCC region has not kept pace with developments in other sectors."

He reminded the business representatives that improvements in the investment climate were "a necessary prerequisite" for the promotion of investment. Some SADCC states, Malawi among them, had taken steps to create such a climate. The minister said pointedly: "The emphasis of government is promotion, rather than regulation of private investment."

Taking off from there, Tanzania's deputy minister for industries and trade, Dr Nicas Mahinda, declared boldly: "The days of anti-business rhetorics and an obsessive euphoria [as published] of profits are long gone."

These sentiments aside, Dr Mahinda went on to reel out a string of depressing statistics, among them the fall in manufacturing value added (MVA) which was 3.1 percent in the 1970s and 1.1 percent in the '80s for "Sub-Saharan Africa. The share of manufacturing in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) had fallen over the same period from 13.1 to 12 percent. But at an average growth rate of 3.5 percent, the sub-continent was increasing its population by the highest rate ever in the history of mankind. "From these statistics," a sobered Dr Mahinda pointed out, "it can be said that the quality of life within SADCC has been deteriorating."

Performance on the trade side had been no better, said Dr Mahinda. A study on regional trade conducted before the launching of the SADCC Trade Programme in June 1986, revealed that SADCC exports to the world in 1982

totalled US\$5.1 billion while imports were US\$7.2 billion. Out of this, the portion of intra-SADCC exports and imports accounted for only 4.5 percent. But there was yet hope.

SADCC's exports in 1987 amounted to US\$6.6 billion and share percent for intra-SADCC trade amounted to 5.1 percent of this. However seven percent of the exports were destined to the South African market which also provided 30 percent of the SADCC total imports. According to Dr Mahinda: "This clearly shows the relative economic dependency of SADCC countries, especially on South Africa and the low level of business interactions within the region; this results in a severe lack of complementarity within the SADCC economies."

While the delegates were still chewing on these unpalatable statistics, SADCC's executive secretary Dr Simba Makoni decided time had come for a rebuke and a few home truths. "As business people," he said, "I must say quite frankly that I've been struck by the lack of business drive in the region." He said there was US\$8 billion worth of projects going begging in the various SADCC sectors and his office was inundated with foreign businessmen wanting to cash in on this bonanza. Yet not a single one of the businessmen present had bothered to visit the secretariat in Gaborone to talk about business in SADCC. "Not even Botswana business people in whose backyard we are," he added for emphasis. "Should we really let US\$8 billion go out while we remain poor? True. But more than anyone else, Dr Makoni should know the constraints under which his SADCC businessmen labour which in the past have ranged from hostility and suspicion of them from their own governments to asphyxiating bureaucracy and simply unwholesome economic policies. Thanks partly to SADCC's efforts and the sheer grind of deepening poverty the situation is changing. But the playing field still needs some levelling up to give SADCC's businessmen a chance.

Dr Makoni also touched on the question of the future of the SADCC region after apartheid—a topic which was given prominence by guests who had been invited from South Africa, among them Dr Sam Motsuonyane, who led a delegation from the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC).

As far as Dr Makoni was concerned, there was no debate about the future of the region after apartheid. "It will be a SADCC with South Africa in it—an entity of eleven sovereign countries of which South Africa will be one." But while he acknowledged that there were people in South Africa who still nurtured the dream of a so-called constellation of southern African states in which South Africa would play the dominant role, he advised the South African delegates to take back home that "this is not on."

The conference passed several resolutions. One of them predictably called for the SADCC states to increase the percentage of intra-regional trade from the current low of

five percent to 12 percent by the year 2000. Another called on SADCC government to promote the establishment of private local banks to help mobilise investment funds within the countries themselves and also to improve financial services in the entire region.

One of the equally interesting resolutions, was a call for donor agencies and multilateral financial institutions to channel an increasing proportion of their resources directly to the private sector, particularly the small entrepreneur. The business representatives said women deserved special attention as so far they have benefited only a little from such aid.

In the light of the pending membership of a post-apartheid South Africa, the conference called on SADCC member states to "seriously consider the establishment of some form of legislation or quota system." And it was obviously with South Africa in mind that the conference also urged SADCC member states to adopt a "Treaty of Rome" type of pact to address the long-term interests of the region and allow economic cooperation and integration despite political circumstances in individual member states. Such a treaty, according to the resolution, should also establish an equitable arrangement that permits the existence of strong economies side by side with small economies in much the same way as a small Luxembourg economy exists without obvious disadvantages with a large German economy in the same economic union.

Another resolution called on the SADCC organisation to harmonise its activities with the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), by having a mechanism for tariff reduction "because without tariff reductions there can be no talk of trade and without trade there can be no talk of investment."

The resolutions agreed clearly call for the SRBC office in Gaborone to play a critical role in informing and educating the business people on such complex issues as cross-border investments and access to revolving funds, identification and promotion of investment projects, and joint venture opportunities in a region which is caught up in the maelstrom of a rapidly changing economic and political environment. Dr Ed Bbenkele, the Zambian national in charge of the Council's office in Gaborone, will need every support.

#### \* Southern Africa Transportation Network Surveyed

#### \* Namibia Opens Routes

91AF1201A Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Apr/May 91 pp 30-31

[Text] Namibian trucks are opening a new gateway to Zambian and Zairean mines and Walvis Bay, on Africa's western coast is set to rival Dar es Salaam and Beira as central Africa's port.

A Namibian company, Road Runners, has just done the first two trips carrying mining equipment to Zaire and this month a further 1,500 tonnes will be transported. The route starts at Walvis Bay, which is still under South African occupation. The port, a main selling point of the route, is rated the most efficient in Africa and tenth most so in the world. Goods go by road or rail from there to Grootfontein, to start the road haul into the interior. It takes five days from Walvis Bay to the Copperbelt and eight to Zaire.

Road Runners, together with the Namibian parastatal, TransNamib, and two Zambian contractors—the state-owned Contract Haulage of Zambia and a private haulier—is now moving 800 to 1,500 tonnes of copper for shipping at Walvis Bay each month.

For the return trip the main goods inwards are Namibian salt. But demand for salt will slacken once Botswana's Sua Pan Soda Ash project, producing some 700,000 tons of salt a year as a by-product, comes on stream. So, already, Mr. Fred Strauss, Road Runners' manager, is eyeing the traffic flowing through Dar es Salaam port in Tanzania, some 40,000 to 50,000 tons of freight per month. He has made four promotional visits to Europe and the United States, two trial runs of mining equipment to Zaire, in addition to the on-going traffic of consumer goods and smaller mining items to Zambia.

Moreover, since the South African Defence Force withdrew from Namibia in 1989, Road Runners has been hard put to find enough work for its 80 Mercedes truck-trailers. So building Namibia up into a gateway to southern and central Africa is one way to win back the lost business.

Although Walvis Bay is further for Zambia and Zaire than Dar es Salaam and Beira, it has the key advantages over them of port efficiency and lack of rebel sabotage. With attacks continuing in Mozambique despite ceasefire talks, companies are unwilling to entrust a large proportion of goods to Beira.

Walvis Bay has considerable spare capacity at the moment, and the port authorities are making every effort to win business through high quality service. Boats can be in and out of the port in under 24 hours and the goods are cleared quickly, with the minimum of fuss and regulations. Theft and damage is far less than at some other ports and the fact that ships from the U.S. and Europe often come down the west coast first and have to spend up to three weeks thereafter to reach the East African coast, is clearly a plus in its favour.

Improving the road through the Caprivi Strip is a top SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] priority and is likely to cost US\$57 million. At the January SADCC consultative conference feasibility study for a bridge into Botswana or Zambia was discussed. Namibia's Tsumeb refinery is looking for copper concentrates and these could come from Botswana's Selwe Phikwe. Once the road is up to

standard and the issue of Walvis Bay's ownership is resolved, many more truck-loads of goods will go west, not east.

#### \* Mozambique Railways

91AF1201B Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Apr/May 91 pp 31-32

[Text] Mozambique Railways Authority (CFM) have introduced a new payment system. Businessmen in Malawi and Zimbabwe will be hardest hit.

The Mozambique Railways Authority (CFM) will go ahead with plans which were initially scheduled to take effect from the 1st of November last year, to introduce a new system under which importers from neighbouring countries will have to pay for the services it provides directly to it and not to their national railway authorities.

Zimbabwe freight companies are angry at the decision and have threatened to switch to South African routes. They say that the new system will result in increased delays and will cost about 7 percent more. They also say that Mozambique railways, never famous for its efficiency, will not be able to administer the system.

About 60 percent of Zimbabwe's traffic or 840,000 tonnes now passes through Mozambique annually. This does not include refined fuels, most of which reach Zimbabwe through a pipeline from the port of Beira. The traffic is expected to increase by 50 percent in the next five years when the two lines will be fully rehabilitated.

But the routes are fraught with problems. Apart from occasional sabotage by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], there is heavy pilfering on the lines and in the port particularly of maize and sugar. Zimbabwe's insurance industry recently threatened to declare maize shipments through Mozambique an uninsurable commodity. This followed the loss of 7,500 tonnes of maize worth Z\$[Zimbabwe dollars]3 million out of the 107,000 tonnes shipped through Beira last year.

A spokesman for a freight company in Harare said he did not see how the Reserve Bank would release money to pay for cargo before it arrived. He said the Beira route was already causing delays because of a shortage of rolling stock. Unlike the South African routes which operate computerised wagon tracking system, the Beira route does not, and shippers are often left with no clue about where their cargo might be at any given time.

Because of the protests, CFM has postponed the decision three times already but has now set the 1st of April as the new date when the system will come into operation. According to CFM's deputy general manager, Mr. Louis Ah-Hoy, the new system was introduced because under existing agreements between CFM and its regional counterparts, accounts had to be settled every six weeks through a clearing house. But often payments to CFM, which always had favourable trade balance, were delayed

sometimes for months. But there is no surcharge for overdue payments. Consequently, CFM says it is providing interest free loans to other railway companies. "CFM is providing short-term finance to the economies of neighbouring countries, and that is what we want to change," says Mr. Ah-Hoy.

Mr. Ah-Hoy said the transactions had always been in hard currency but that the reserve banks of the countries involved covered the payments in hard currency even though importers made payments in local currencies. The decision will not affect South Africa and Swaziland which use the rand, which is a convertible currency in Southern Africa.

Mr. Ah-Hoy says the new system was already operating with cargo handled at Mozambican ports. "They can use the same procedure for railway cargo," he said.

CFM insists that its decision is in no way intended to harm regional cooperation but to correct certain weaknesses in the way the present system works. As would be expected, the decision is fully backed by the Mozambican ministry of transport and communications, and according to a ministry spokesman, "the neighbouring countries now understand the rationale behind the new policy."

They may understand the rationale but that will not make things easier for Mozambique. Malawi has always done business with Pretoria and would not hesitate to switch to South African routes. From the outset, the private sector in Zimbabwe was sceptical of using the Mozambican routes and would not need to be persuaded to switch to South African routes which they say are more reliable.

Mozambique will have to handle the issue carefully. Political reforms in South Africa are making Pretoria a much more acceptable partner to do business with in the region. According to the managing director of the Beira Corridor Group, Mr. David Zauzmer, the political reasons for using Mozambican routes are falling away fast and unless Mozambique becomes more competitive, it will lose traffic to South Africa.

Meanwhile, shipping sources in Harare say that about 12,000 tonnes of Malawi cargo are stuck at Nacala port because Malawi importers are still trying to figure out how to work under the new system.

According to the latest report of the Beira Corridor Authority which is the Mozambican government body responsible for the implementation of the project for the rehabilitation of the Beira port, the port is not expected to increase significantly its handling capacity until 1992/3 when the major constraints will have been removed. Before that time it is expected that six shunting locomotives financed under a concessionary loan of the International Development Association (IDA) will have been supplied by Romania, Hungary, the USA or Japan who are bidding for the contract. Ten mainline diesel electric locomotives funded by Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) will also have been supplied and 810 wagons refurbished.

The total cost of the Beira Corridor is about US\$600m and of this amount up to 87 percent has been secured.

#### \* Nacala Rail Line, Port

91AF1201C Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Apr/May 91 pp 32-33

[Text] A lot of effort has gone into the rehabilitation of the Nacala rail link and port. It remains to be seen if this will result in greatly increased traffic.

Going by what one hears, the Nacala port and railway should by now be fully operational, with all the harbour facilities rehabilitated and a new shining track snaking its way to the seaport from Malawi's border, through Cuamba and Nampula in Mozambique. This is, in fact, not the case and although work on both the harbour and the railway line to Malawi's border is nearly there, there is still quite a bit to be done, as the ministers who attended the SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] Council of ministers meeting in Windhoek found out recently.

The study on the upgrading of the Mangochi-Mandiba-Mitande road and the rehabilitation of the Nacala-Entre Lagos railway were completed in March 1989, having been funded by the Finnish Development Agency (FINNIDA). The rehabilitation was carried out by BMN (Brigada de Melhoramentos do Norte) who were commissioned by CFM (National Rail and Port Enterprise of Mozambique) who own the port.

#### Import-Export Traffic Moved Through Border Posts (1988-1989 (Tonnes))

	1988			1989		
	Import	Export	Total	Import	Export	Total
Mchinji	205.00	43.00	248.00	182.00	25.00	207.00
Mwanza	443.00	190.00	641.00	434.00	149.00	583.00
Kaporu	64.00	16.00	71.00	90.00	10.00	100.00
Nayuchi Border	NS	NS	NS	0.71	0.12	0.82
Total	712.00	249.00	960.00	706.70	184.10	890.80

NS—Not significant.

Source: Ministry of Transport and Communications

The rehabilitation of the Entre Lagos railway involved extensive civil works in addition to the mobilisation of equipment and construction materials. The terminal area was paved with solid blocks and reinforced concrete; the drainage system was installed and some 4,000 square metres of quay surface serving the container terminal were repaired.

Other civil works included the construction of the platform for loading wagons and lorries with containers, installation of new illumination tower, construction of the container terminal administration block and the purchase of container handling equipment. FINNIDA financed the foreign exchange component which amounted to US\$19 million while the Mozambican government put up 329 meticais (US\$322,000) to cover the local cost component. FINNIDA financing also included the software component relating to the requisition of the container terminal.

These works enabled the port's handling capacity to rise to 20,000 TEUs [twenty equivalent units] per annum.

Since 1988, a further 26 square metres of the harbour area have been block-paved while 10,000 square metres have been paved with asphalt. Roads in the harbour have been completed and rehabilitation of the rail line in the harbour area is virtually complete. Some on-the-job training has started and further investment in management, as well as handling equipment, has been made. So far, FINNIDA has spent US\$11.8 million on this second stage and the Mozambican government 613.8 million meticais (US\$672,000) for local costs.

This year a 22-ton crane for the container terminal will be rehabilitated. This is in addition to seven 5-ton and one 20-ton cranes which have already been rehabilitated. The cost of rehabilitating the cranes, US\$4.6 million, falls outside the scope of Finnish assistance and is being picked up by Germany. Of this sum, US\$2.2 million and a local cost component of 264 million meticais (US\$270,000) has been spent so far.

As far as the Nacala railway is concerned, the first phase of its rehabilitation was completed in January 1987, when the railway track between Nacala and Nampula—192 kilometres—was relaid. This was financed by CIDA, (Canada) [Canadian International Aid Agency], France and Portugal and by Mozambique for the local component.

The second phase of the Nacala railway which started in 1987 continued the relaying of the track from Nampula to Cuamba—346 kilometres. But work was interrupted in 1988 after reaching Caramaja, 250 kilometres from Nampula on the route to Cuamba. But it has now resumed. A well-mixed cocktail of donors is putting up the foreign exchange component for this phase. It includes CIDA, the EEC under its European Development Fund (EDF), France, Portugal, Italy and FINNIDA. A consortium of contractors consisting of two French companies and one Portuguese—BMN—has responsibility for phase one and two of this rehabilitation.

All materials required to complete construction up to Cuamba have been assembled and are in stock, among them: 1,529,000 metric tons of ballast, 454,000 concrete sleepers and long welded rails sufficient for laying 290 kilometres of new track.

Up to the end of last year a total of US\$196 million in foreign exchange and 9 million meticais was spent on the rehabilitation of the railway.

The final phase of this rehabilitation will be the replacement of the track from Cuamba to the Malawi border, a distance of 77 kilometres.

All this work is, however, not already resulting in greatly increased international traffic flowing through the railway or being handled at the port. The railway rehabilitation, the lack of motive power and the fact that operations have to be undertaken only during daylight, because of MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] activities, dog the operation. Moreover, the 250 kilometre track between the Malawi border and Caramaja is in such bad state that it is a serious bottleneck. So far the tonnage of international traffic transported on the railway to and from Nacala has risen from 2,000 net tons in 1988 to only 26,000 net tons in 1990, while the tonnage of international traffic handled by the harbour has actually reduced—from 14,000 port-tons in 1985 to 8,000 port-tons in 1990. But once the whole project is completed the increase in international traffic handled at the port and on the railway will be dramatic.

#### \* Lobito Corridor

9IAFI201D Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Apr/May 91 p 33

[Text] A lot of money is being laid on the Lobito Corridor. But until peace comes to Angola the Corridor will remain simply a project on the drawing board.

Hard days have indeed fallen on Lobito which used to be a bustling port in its heydays. In 1973 it handled 2.5 million tons of cargo. That figure fell drastically to 500,000 tons in 1980 and last year's estimate was even less—480,000 tons.

The trouble is of course that Lobito has been starved of cargo for all these years as a result of the war waged by Mr. Jonas Savimbi's UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement against the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government of President Jose Eduardo Santos in Luanda. The Benguela railways which feeds traffic into Lobito port has hardly carried a ton of international traffic since 1975 when rebel activity began to intensify, shortly before the independence of Angola. The line carried one million tons of international traffic in 1972, 1.6 million in 1973 and 1.5 million in 1974. Thereafter, nothing—at least according to the figures presented to the SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] Council of Ministers meeting in Windhoek recently.

Nevertheless, there is hope for the blighted railway and its port, provided the security situation which Angola admits, "didn't make possible to keep up the annual and stable activity on the Benguela Railway, neither opened perspectives for repair or rehabilitation works on the line."

That hope lies in the fact that the Lobito Corridor has formally adopted a SADCC project in 1989—and that means that donors can now subscribe to its rehabilitation and also in the imminent cessation of hostilities between the Angolan government and UNITA.

But the fact that peace may still be some way away has not stopped preliminary investigations being made. The World Bank for one has been busy, since 1987 collecting information on the Angolan economy, and that means the Benguela Railway and the Lobito Port which are as important to the economy as oil production.

Last May the Bank voted US\$1.4 million for a feasibility study for the rehabilitation and upgrading of efficiency of the Lobito corridor, which includes the Benguela Railway. A restricted invitation to tender was issued in August and the study is expected to be carried out this year, between March and October.

The European Community's European Development Fund approved a sum of 2.4 million ECU (European units of account) last December, for the setting up of a Project Co-ordinating Unit (PCU) for the Lobito Corridor rehabilitation project. It is expected to become operational by June this year. The PCU is a pre-requisite if the total rehabilitation project is to proceed in a co-ordinated manner once it starts.

Apart from the World Bank and the European Development Fund there are other organisations which have shown interest in undertaking or financing feasibility studies. Some of these are the Caisse Centrale de Coopération Economique, a French organisation, the European Investment Bank, United Nations Agencies such as UNCTAD [United Nations Conference on Trade and Development] and the UNDP [United Nations Development Program] and Spain which is to undertake three studies concerning the rehabilitation of the power and lighting system in the port, manpower development and for motive power, a rolling stock and operation plan. But until peace comes to Angola the rehabilitation of the Lobito Corridor, meaning the harbour and the Benguela Railway, will remain simply a project on the drawing board. If ever peace was worth billions of dollars anywhere, it is here.

#### \* Malawi's Problems

91AF1201E Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Apr/May 91 pp 33, 35-36

[Text] With the MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] having closed the Tete Corridor, and with no end in sight to the Mozambique war, Malawi continues to suffer crippling transport bills.

Transporters stopped using the Tete route after the MNR attacked an unescorted convoy on 8 January, killing four people. The attack followed the withdrawal of Zimbabwean troops from the corridor under the terms of the partial ceasefire agreement between the government of Mozambique and the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels signed in December last year. The agreement restricted Zimbabwean troops to the Beira and Limpopo corridors.

For Malawi the shortest route to the sea is to Nacala port in Mozambique. But for some years the route was not usable because of sabotage by the MNR. In December 1989 however, the MNR announced a unilateral ceasefire on the line. They have kept their word and to date there have been no attacks on the line, although this does not seem to extend to the road which is subjected to periodic attacks.

Despite the ceasefire on the Nacala route, the capacity of the line is still severely limited because of its condition and until rehabilitation work is completed, very little traffic will be moving on the line. At the moment only one through train a week carrying 1,000 tonnes, mostly fertilisers for Malawi, is running.

Another alternative route is the northern one which runs through Karonga and Ibanda to Dar es Salaam—a distance of 1,784 kilometres from Blantyre. But transporters have expressed concern about mismanagement and delays in clearing goods at Dar es Salaam port. The route has a carrying capacity of 500,000 tonnes last year, mostly containers and fuel tankers, which account for about two thirds of Malawi's freight volume.

When fully operational in 1995, the Nacala route is expected to carry 540,000 tonnes a year. "This could cope with most of Malawi's overseas trade, leaving more than ample spare capacity on the northern corridor," Malawi's secretary for transport and communications, Mr J. Kalemera, says.

But until these routes are fully operational, most of Malawi's exports and imports have to use the longer route through South Africa and Zimbabwe. It is estimated that in 1989, 174,000 tonnes of exports and 616,000 tonnes of imports used this route while only 10,000 tonnes of exports and 90,000 tonnes of imports went through the northern route.

Before the Tete route was closed, Malawi was already paying about US\$75 million a year more for transport than it used to when the cheaper routes were operational. Officials say that with the closure of the Tete route as much as 40 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings will go towards transport.

The World Food Programme (WFP), which supplies food relief to the 900,000 Mozambican refugees in Malawi, says using the Zambian route will cost at least

50 percent more. Besides the higher costs, the Zambia route will be slower: "Using the Tete corridor we were shipping about 12,000 tonnes of maize a month, but through Zambia this might be reduced to between 8,000 and 10,000 tonnes," says WFP area director for Southern Africa, Mr. David Morton.

A Zimbabwean haulage firm which was involved in the relief programme lost its contract when the Tete route was closed. Zambia levies a road toll of US\$80 per truck at each border entry point or US\$160 for a round trip. So when the WFP asked transport companies to resubmit tenders, taking the new distances into account, the Zimbabwean company's rates were no longer competitive after the road toll was included.

Malawi was reported to be negotiating with the MNR to stop attacking the Tete corridor. But Malawi denies this. Its acting high commissioner in Zimbabwe Mr. James Kalilongwe said in a television interview in early March that Malawi was not negotiating with the Renamo bandits. The managing director of the Beira Corridor Group (BCG), Mr. David Zauzmer, says that even if Malawi got an assurance from the MNR that it would not attack the route, this would not be effective as some of the Renamo rebels in the provinces would not feel bound by it. "There are two wings of Renamo: One is controlled centrally and has excellent communications. The other is based in the provinces. This group will cooperate with the rebels of the mainstream group when they are in its areas but will generally do its own thing most of the time," Mr. Zauzmer says.

From the beginning of February, Mozambican forces started running a convoy on the route. Whereas when Zimbabwean troops were operating the convoy it used to do the distance from Nyamapanda on the Zimbabwe border to Zobue on the Malawi border in one day, under the Mozambican system, the convoy takes one day from Nyamapanda to Tete and another from Tete to Zobue.

On 8 February the MNR attacked the convoy between Tete and Zobue, killing 35 people. Although Mozambican forces continue to escort the convoys, Zimbabwean truckers have refused to use the route, arguing that they do not feel safe as the army does not use armoured vehicles. But even if the attacks die down, Zimbabwean haulage companies are unlikely to take the risk until they are sure that the route is absolutely safe. Most of their trucks have only third party insurance and are not insured against war damage: "The premiums would just be too high," says a Zimbabwean transporter.

A month after the last maize shipment to Tete town, the food situation there was said to be critical. According to Miss Sam Barnes, an official of the UNDP's special emergency relief operations in Mozambique, displaced people in Tete require 1,000 tonnes of maize a month but as of February 16 the town only had 146 tonnes left. "We cannot get food relief to Tete any other way except by road, and unless maize can be moved soon, a lot of people will suffer."

The Zambian route has its own problems. Although the road is in fair condition, the grass and bush verges on the road which has been allowed to grow into the road, obstructing full view. The Laungwa bridge is closed to traffic between 2.30 p.m. and 6.30 a.m. daily and since it only takes one vehicle at a time, this slows down traffic considerably.

More worrying, however, is the security situation on the route. Late last year, several MNR attacks were reported along sections of the road which pass within 10 kilometres of the Mozambican border, just above the Luangwa bridge. If the attacks increase, Zambia will be forced to mount convoys, complicating matters further.

Apart from Malawi, the closure of the Tete route will hit Mozambican refugees hard. Reduced food shipments through Zambia will also affect supplies to displaced Mozambicans living in areas bordering on Malawi who were being supplied from there. The only other way to supply them would be by air, but the cost would be prohibitive.

#### \* Zambia's Chipata Route

91AF1201F Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST in English Apr/May 91 p 36

[Text] Following the renewed Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] attacks on the Tete road and the effective closure of that corridor to international and local traffic, the Chipata route through Zambia has re-asserted itself as Malawi's life line. A recent Beira Corridor Group (BCG) report signposts the route as follows:

#### Chirundu-Kafue (90 km)

Shortly after leaving the Chirundu border post the road climbs steeply with dangerous bends. Extreme caution should be exercised by vehicles.

#### Kafue-Lusaka (42 km)

Deteriorated road surface and increased pedestrian and vehicular traffic after the Kafue bridge. The Lusaka approach is being upgraded and the Lusaka ring road which carries a lot of traffic may be easily missed.

#### Lusaka-Chongwe (45 km)

The T4 trunk road leaves Lusaka through fertile farmlands to Chongwe where there are drivers' rest facilities. The road traffic becomes lighter and conditions are very good.

#### Chongwe-Luangwa (296 km)

After Chongwe the road narrows and suffers some deterioration with few facilities existing for motorists. There is a long steep climb through the Manenekera hills followed by a steep descent to the Laungwa river bridge.

**Luangwa-Kachalola (473 km)**

This is a short, steep and poorly surfaced uphill stretch running parallel to the Mozambique border. It is inadvisable to stop before reaching Kachalola.

**Kachalola-Chipata (268 km)**

The journey improves on good road surfaces through agricultural country. There are road blocks at Nyimba and beyond Chipata close to the border. Caution whilst driving through this section is required due to the pedestrians traffic and animals along the unfenced road.

**Chipata-Mchinji (12 km)**

The Mchinji border post is 8 kms from the Chipata border post on a first class well signposted Malawi highway, 4 kms beyond the customs post is the town of Mchinji which is 120 kms from Lilongwe City.

And then for some home truths which even Boswell's Journey to the Hebrides might have found instructive:

**On Road Blocks:**

Road conditions in Zambia are variable, with several road blocks and tsetse control points enroute. Road blocks should be approached cautiously, with drivers being prepared to stop and politely explain that they are in transit.

**On Supplies**

Users are strongly advised to carry enough fuel, oil and water for the trip as fuel is not easily obtained, other than in Lusaka and, less reliably, in Kachalola, Petauke, Katete and Chipata. These centres and Chongwe also offer overnight stay facilities.

**On Victuals**

All food and drinking requirements should be taken, particularly with the current cholera situation in Zambia.

**Burundi****Demonstrators Begin Rioting During Strike**

EA2706222891 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale  
du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Excerpts] Demonstrations today in Bujumbura—Our capital was half paralyzed this morning by a strike by taxi, public transport, and private sector drivers. The demonstrations, which in the beginning served as protests against an order published on 17 June fixing the amount of taxes paid on the occasion of delivering drivers' licences, degenerated into a few acts of vandalism, deviating thus far from its first objective. Manasse Sirambere followed the demonstrations closely.

[Begin recording] Yes Marie-Josée, it was known [words indistinct] pamphlets inviting all drivers to protest against this order were circulating. This morning it was not a surprise but [words indistinct] all faces. [passage omitted] Delays reached an all-time record. Even those who arrived on duty in time could not work because after a gathering in front of Novotel Hotel where drivers aired their claims before the press and security forces the movement rapidly changed course. One group of demonstrators rejected the proposal made by the commander of the Bujumbura district, Mr. Lucien Jaombalimba, for setting up a commission in charge of negotiating with the authorities. [passage omitted]

There were no longer real drivers among the demonstrators. The demonstrators during the first hour were no longer seen. There was only an excited crowd mixed with strollers, and students who completed their exams chanted slogans that were no longer related to drivers' licenses.

After 1000 things became complicated. The demonstrators turned into rioting demonstrators, and listen carefully as the picture was not an ordinary one: pedestrians fleeing from stones being thrown, cars circulating in disorder and driving backward in particular, cars damaged, and tires punctured. That is what people have been experiencing today in Bujumbura. Not a single bus entered or left the capital. Nevertheless, the head of the transporters' association persuaded the demonstrators to make use of the fait accompli and to undertake a true consultation. [sentence as heard]

The head of state, the Unity for National Progress secretary general, and the other officials have been on a mission away from Bujumbura for a few days, and the issue has not been brought before them. If the workers, having seen that their march was degenerating, withdrew, from where did the other demonstrators come? Already, after the demonstrations, pamphlets came from everywhere in order to [word indistinct] the damage. A question is to be asked: In a country where you have laws and means of consultation, can the street be an ideal place to search for solutions to society's problems? People must know that democracy does not mean anarchy.

It is worth noting that the security forces henceforth control the situation. The government calls on the people to remain calm and to go about their activities. This also holds for transporters. [end recording] [passage omitted]

As we said, the security forces control the situation. We would like in fact to reassure private transporters that they can drive their buses, and it has been indicated that those who continue to hold demonstrations will be punished severely.

**Cameroon****Biya Tells Parliament 'No National Conference'**

AB2706134091 Paris AFP in French 1123 GMT  
27 Jun 91

[Text] Yaounde, 27 Jun (AFP)—Today President Paul Biya reaffirmed his political stand: no national conference; early legislative elections to be held at an unspecified date; and maintaining "order." He envisaged the rehabilitation of former Cameroonian leaders. At a time when some opposition members are mobilizing the people throughout the country for holding a national conference, the Cameroonian leader has chosen to express himself in a solemn way, namely, in a message to Parliament, which can debate upon it in accordance with the Constitution. The 35-minute message was broadcast live.

"I have already said and still maintain that the national conference is aimless. Cameroon has a Constitution that makes room for democratic change. I will respect the verdict of the ballot box. It is only the ballot box that can decide. The people's support is not obtained through force; it is won through the ballot box," he stated.

"I do not have the right to allow the country to drift into chaos under the pretext that some people want to get to power through a shortcut," he added. He criticized "those opposition parties that describe themselves as democratic but who seek to wreck the Republic."

"We shall not allow them to put the country to fire and sword; we shall not allow them to destabilize the institutions; citizens lives and property will be protected; order must prevail; democracy must advance; order will prevail, democracy will advance," the president said.

"We expected debates of ideas, but we only received sterile insults in return. Some opposition parties have not even been legal for a month, yet what do we see? Violence, vengeance, hatred, vandalism, terrorism about to become the rule of thumb," the Cameroonian president stated. He added: "I am prepared to meet opposition leaders. I thank the party leaders who have accepted dialogue with the government in a constructive spirit. I call on them to be tolerant."

President Biya recalled that in April he "announced the dissolution of the Assembly in the nation's supreme interest." He pointed out at that time that the measure

would be implemented this year but he did not give details in his address today.

Finally the president stated: "Tomorrow, maybe, when all conditions are met, we shall announce the rehabilitation of all the sons of this country who are great figures of Cameroon's history, regardless of their mistakes. We should learn to forgive and forget." President Biya did not specify the names of these personalities, the most prominent of them being El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo, the country's first president (1961-1982).

### 'Summary' of Biya's Address

AB2706204591 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network  
in English 1800 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Text] President Paul Biya has called on newly created political parties to prepare to stand elections and win the support of the people. In a more than 30-minute address to the National Assembly, the head of state said that forming a party did not necessarily give democratic legitimacy at national level. Such legitimacy, he added, could be obtained through elections. President Biya recalled that in democracy, the people are the custodians of sovereign power and whoever wished to act on behalf of the people must submit himself to their vote. Mr. Biya reiterated his stance that a national conference is unnecessary in Cameroon.

He described the economic crisis as a collective challenge that shall be overcome only through the permanent efforts of all and through increased national solidarity. The head of state reaffirmed his commitment to democracy and recalled measures that his government has taken in the democratic process since coming to power. He strongly condemned violence that is currently rocking the country and expressed his readiness to meet with opposition political party leaders. He called on the parties to contribute constructive ideas to the democratic process in the country, and he promised that in the face of violence and intimidation order will be maintained in the country.

Here is Jacques Angafo with a full summary of the 35-minute speech:

[Angafo] It was 10 minutes of economics and 25 minutes of politics. That was enough indication of President Biya's preoccupations at this crucial moment of the nation's history, but Biya was not blind to the social violence and sufferings which the mixture of economics and politics have combined to cause and are still causing Cameroon. [sentence as heard] On economics, President Biya said he was conscious of the sacrifice of each and every Cameroonian in overcoming the economic crisis, but he also made the little and seemingly important play, namely that the crisis will, and can only be overcome through a collective effort. While regretting that some Cameroonians have exploited the economic crisis for political ends, Biya once again reechoed an earlier view that the crisis is not Cameroonian but universal. The president said reality must not be masked. (?knowing)

that Cameroon is at an economic crossroad. According to Paul Biya, the 1991-92 budget was a reflection of the actual economic situation of the country, a budget which he said was drawn up within the policy frameworks of realism and rigor.

If there was one thing Cameroonians were anxiously waiting for from the president's speech it was definitely his political pronouncements. Paul Biya appeared firm and uncompromising on his conviction that a national conference was unnecessary. He thus reiterated his stand that there will be no national conference and went on to condemn those whom he said wanted to come to power through a shortcut. Paul Biya said the ballot box and the ballot box alone should be the road to power. The question is: Does democracy presuppose violence, vengeance, vandalism, terrorism, intimidation, and illegal strike actions? The president announced that legislative elections will be held before the end of the year. He reassured everyone that the elections will not be rigged, adding that the verdict will come from the ballot boxes. Paul Biya also said he was ready to meet with party leaders to safeguard what he described as the vital interest of the nation.

Talking tough and almost like a school headmaster, Paul Biya said and I quote: To those parties which claim to be democratic but are out to destroy democracy, advocate civil disobedience and anarchy, flout the laws of the Republic, and undermine the interest of the people, I am asserting loud and clear that we will not allow our country to be set on fire or have our people cause bloodshed; we will not allow the institutions of the Republic to be destabilized; we will not allow our economy to be ruined. end of quote.

Paul Biya then went on to personally commit himself to protect the lives and property of Cameroonians and in an apparent reference to the late President Ahidjo, the chief executive announced the eventual political rehabilitation of the national heroes and heroines. Biya ended up by saying that order must reign in Cameroon and democracy must advance and the challenges were thus open.

### 'Violent Reaction' to Biya's Speech Leaves 3 Dead

AB2706201791 London BBC World Service in English  
1709 GMT 27 Jun 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There has been instant and violent reaction in Cameroon to President Paul Biya's speech to Parliament this morning. It was expected that even if he did not concede to the opposition demands for a national conference which has been backed by nationwide demonstrations, strikes, and economic shutdowns in the Dead Country Operation, he would at least offer some concessions. Well he did not and, instead, gave the opposition a stern warning to follow the democratic processes

already installed. Well it seems there have been eruptions of protests, clashes with security forces, and casualties. From Cameroon Bo Herbert telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] According to reliable sources, at least three people have been shot dead and several others wounded by security forces this afternoon in Douala where violent clashes erupted in reaction to President Paul Biya's categorical refusal to convene a national conference in the country. Thousands of angry protesters are in the streets of many Cameroonian cities this afternoon to demonstrate their disagreement with President Paul Biya's speech this morning before the country's National Assembly. Reports say that Mr. Biya's rejection of a national conference was greeted by acts of naked defiance across the country.

In Douala, entire neighborhoods exploded in shouts of disapproval following the declaration, and thousands of predominantly young people poured onto the streets, erecting barricades with flaming tires, wrecked cars, and dustbins, while hurling stones at paramilitary troops. A journalist there told me that armored personnel cars, water canon vehicles, and riot helicopters were used. He described the situation as completely out of hand and that tear gas has already been fired from the helicopters to disperse groups of protesters in various areas. He said he had heard three gunshots.

The northern Cameroonian towns of Maroua and Ngandere, which had ignored the Dead Country Operation until now, joined in immediately. Shops, markets, banks, and bars closed and taxis were instantly grounded. In Maroua, barricades of flaming tires were moved into the main streets and someone there told me that the sky above the city was completely enveloped and darkened by thick, black smoke.

In those towns of the country already involved in this operation—Bafoussam, Bamenda, Koumbo, Koumba, and Limbe—thousands of protesters rolled into place barricades within full view of armored troops and have been systematically stopping anyone from going about their business. It is being rumored here that the opposition will meet tomorrow in the town of Bouveya. [end recording]

#### Diplomatic Ties Established With Venezuela

AB2806100691 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network  
in French 1900 GMT 25 Jun 91

[Text] In realization of their desire to maintain and strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation in the mutual interest of their respective peoples, the Governments of the Republic of Cameroon and the Republic of Venezuela decided to establish diplomatic relations with effect from 25 June 1991. The joint communique announcing the establishment of diplomatic ties was signed today at 1700 at the Venezuelan mission in New York.

#### \* Opposition Party Leaders Define Platform, Goals

91AF1111B Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE  
in French May 91 pp 118, 120, 124, 126

[Text]

#### Samuel Eboua, National Union for Democracy and Progress [UNDP]

a. Ideology: "We are for liberalizing the economy and for privatizing certain public enterprises. In this respect, you can classify us as rightist. But if being leftist means you are for social justice, reduction of inequalities, and redistribution of income, then we are leftist. Today, ideologies are blurred and the borderline between left and right is becoming indistinct."

b. Legacy: "I accept without reservation the legacy of Ahidjo. Some say he was a dictator, that he killed some people, and so forth. What they forget is that he assumed his responsibilities in a particular context. Cameroon was born in pain, blood, and fire. Ahidjo fought to restore peace and security. It is that context that justified the statutes of 1962. I acknowledge that in the area of human rights and civil liberties the situation was difficult, but in the absence of the measures that were taken, what would have become of our country?"

c. Financing: "People say we are rich. We are rich in terms of the support the nation is giving us. That is where we get our funds, not from the money of the Ahidjo family or from fortunes illegally made. You can be sure, however, that in respect to our financing we will be competing with the RDPC [Democratic Rally of the Cameroonian People] on equal terms."

d. National Conference: "All the active participants in the life of the nation demand it. I believe we can save the nation from an explosive situation. The head of state should himself have taken the initiative in respect to the national conference. It should not be a public spectacle. It is definitely in President Biya's interest to convene the conference."

e. Early Elections: "I hope that this time we will go all the way to the end of the presidential term. Any election before the national conference would come under the heading of a provocation. There must be a revision of the Constitution and a new electoral law, and the new parties must have time to establish themselves."

#### Yondo Black, Social Movement for the New Democracy [MSND]

a. Plan for Society: "We want a society that makes the human being the center of its concerns. We are in favor of counterweights to counterbalance governmental power. Our institutions need to be reorganized so as to have a bicephalous executive branch—a semipresidential system—with a certain number of powers recognized

as properly those of the president, and with a prime minister as head of the government and accountable for it."

b. Ideology: "We are a social democratic party, but ideological systems are of little importance. In our country, the state plays too large a role. Private enterprise must therefore be encouraged, but because the economy is still weak, the state must maintain a presence in some sectors—education, transportation, and energy—to protect the disadvantaged strata of society and to avoid being absorbed by big foreign capital."

c. Early Elections: "Holding elections under the present conditions is unacceptable. We shall not choose to boycott them, however, even if we know that under the existing rules we would be headed for a defeat. Such an outcome will not do honor to the government. One thing is certain: if the government continues to engage in trickery, we shall wind up in a situation of permanent disorder."

**John Fru Ndi, Social Democratic Front (SDF)**

a. English-Speaking Party or National Party: "We have received more than 2 million membership cards. These are members who have purchased their cards and filled out a form with information that we have computerized. We are very well established in the Southwest and Northwest, as well as in the Far North. We have good bases in the Littoral and the West. We are currently working in Yaounde and the province of the Center. Today, I can state positively that we are well established in six provinces. We are a national party, not an English-speaking party. The composition of our executive committee attests to that fact. Our officers come from all the provinces; some are even from Biya's village."

b. Federalism or Unitary State: "Our position is clear. It is the Cameroonian themselves who should decide this question. If they want a return of the federation, that is

what should happen. My personal opinion is that the SDF, in its capacity as a national party, should respect the bicultural character of the Cameroonian people. I believe that Cameroon should retain its current status while fully affirming the reality of its bilingualism. One cannot tell the English-speaking Cameroonian that Cameroon is indivisible and yet refuse to speak English because one is French-speaking. There must be an English-speaking university and a French-speaking university. English and French should have the same status, the same importance. Bilingualism cannot mean that the English-speaking population must learn French. Efforts must be made in both directions. We must develop a genuine bilingual system."

**Dika Akwa, Union of Cameroonian Peoples (UPC)**

a. Economic Priorities: "The economy must cease to be managed as if our resources were the property of a few. The people must be kept continuously informed. This is the best way to obtain their support and to get them to accept the sacrifices that are necessary to correct the situation. Legislative assemblies to deal with the national economy—organized with the participation of the entire active population of the nation—are essential. If we are placed in charge of the nation's affairs, we shall move in four directions: we shall reduce the role of the state in the economy, put an end to infrastructure projects designed for purposes of prestige, decentralize the management of the economy at the provincial level, and promote an extensive regional market that will involve the various populations."

b. Legitimacy of the Leadership of the UPC: "I was elected at the meeting of 21 December to head the executive committee, after having been chosen by the founder of the UPC, Etienne Libai, to be the officer to whom he transmitted the legal status of the party. By electing me, my colleagues expressed their gratitude for the price that I have paid in behalf of the UPC and Cameroonian nationalism in general."

**Somalia****BBC Reports USC Fails To Establish Authority**

AB2706124091 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 25 Jun 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Somalia's USC [United Somali Congress] government is clearly failing to assert its control over the entire country. SNM [Somali National Movement] guerrillas in the north have already declared the independent Republic of Somaliland.

In Mogadishu there were clashes last week reportedly between supporters of the incumbent president Ali Mahdi and former USC military commander General (Haddid), and today came a claim by fighters of the Somali Patriotic Movement, the SPM, to have recaptured the town of Kismaayo in the far south after driving USC forces out of the city.

Well the Somali deputy foreign minister, Abdullahi Sheikh Ismail, is in Tunis at the moment. On the line, Robin White asked him what he made of all these developments:

[Begin recording] [Ismail] Well the fighting in Mogadishu was not a tribal and intestinal warfare and it had no character of political forces fighting each other. It was a matter of routine security operation to strengthen the security around the capital, and that was a duty that we had to do and we did it. But as far as the question of the Kismaayo recapturing is concerned, I think it is completely untrue and it is just a question of mere speculation.

[White] They are absolutely emphatic that they have recaptured it and driven USC forces out?

[Ismail] I cannot subscribe to this theory at all because I know the relation of forces in the area.

[White] And you are saying that they are just not capable of taking it or what?

[Ismail] I think they are not capable.

[White] Now this fighting last week in Mogadishu was said to be between one section of the USC, your faction, and Gen. (Haddid's) faction.

[Ismail] This is again the creation of the false [word indistinct] people. I do not think that there has been any fight between any of these factions which have been mentioned and actually have allegedly been mentioned and I want to reaffirm to you that such factions do not exist at all. There is one cohesive united force.

[White] Has not Gen. (Haddid) now quit the government?

[Ismail] No. This is a question of exercise of democracy, party democracy, within the USC party itself.

[White] Who was fighting in Mogadishu then?

[Ismail] I told you. This is a routine operation of security, character, and nature aimed at clearing the town and the city surroundings from elements of insecurity.

[White] Doesn't it look though like things are going from bad to worse once again for the USC?

[Ismail] Well I do not know why so much concentration on the USC, but in any case I do not see anything going from bad to worse from my side.

[White] But you have lost the north. Fighting continues elsewhere.

[Ismail] Well fighting is continuing of course in the [word indistinct] where Siad Barre's remnants are concentrated along the border with Kenya, and that is quite a national collective task, but nothing so far in between other forces is taking place now.

[White] Aren't you finding it increasingly difficult as a foreign minister to go around the world sounding convincing that you control anything?

[Ismail] My dear, I am not convincing anybody. Reality is speaking for itself. [end recording]

**Republic of Somaliland Council of Ministers Meets**

EA2706221091 (Clandestine) Radio Hargeysa  
Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali  
1645 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Text] A meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Somaliland has been held at the Presidency in Hargeysa. The Council of Ministers meeting, chaired by the vice president of the Republic of Somaliland, discussed in depth issues pertaining to economy, defense, running the administration, and improving social services. The Council of Ministers meeting agreed on points regarding the proper running of the administration [word indistinct] and the best way of establishing direct contact with the intellectuals [word indistinct] and the representatives of the communities so that each side could play its appropriate role in development. [Words indistinct] finally, Mr. Hassan Isa Jama, the vice president of the Republic of Somaliland, urged the Council of Ministers to execute their duties responsibly.

**De Klerk Ratifies Removal of Apartheid Legislation**

*MB2706121891 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
1100 GMT 27 Jun 91*

[Text] The removal of the last apartheid legislation was ratified this morning by the State President, Mr. F.W. de Klerk. Mr. de Klerk said at the signing of the acts repealing the legislation at the Union Building in Pretoria that the acts would be published soon in the Government Gazette and would then be removed officially from the statute books.

The acts ratified this morning are: The Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, The Upgrading and Land Tenure Rights Act, The Less Formal Township Establishment Act, The Population Registration Act Repeal Act, The Interim Measures for Local Government Act, The Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Act and The Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act.

**Letter Disputes Apartheid's End**

*MB2806141891 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1349 GMT 28 Jun 91*

[Text] Johannesburg June 28 SAPA—Despite the scrapping of apartheid legislation in the last parliamentary session, apartheid is not dead, according to an open letter to world leaders endorsed by 15 South African organisations and individuals.

They include Actstop, the National Land Committee (NLC), the ANC [African National Congress] Land Commission, Five Freedoms Forum, the Black Sash, the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC [South African Council of Churches], and Dr Beyers Naude.

The letter is to be sent to US President Bush, UK Premier John Major, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, among others, says not all apartheid laws have been abolished.

"The scrapping of apartheid legislation and the rooting out of apartheid practices is incomplete.

"The legacy of apartheid has in no way been dealt with. The outside trappings have been removed, while apartheid in the main remains intact," the letter says.

"In an attempt to maintain control over the process of change, and to strengthen his own party interests, (President F.W.) de Klerk is hindering the democratic process. On the one hand, he scraps legislation, which has offended people like us, while on the other, he passes new legislation without consulting the victims of past policies.

"In scrapping some of the most obvious apartheid legislation, the government has put in its place new laws with discriminatory effects. The new pieces of legislation passed during this session of Parliament entrench the

inequalities of apartheid's past and do not contribute to the normalisation of relations in South African society."

The letter alleges that:

—it is not true the government consulted widely with affected communities before passing the new legislation; the mere repeal of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 does not mean that blacks, who were systematically deprived of both the land and means to make it productive, now have money or resources to buy land in free market. The government is refusing to restore the land to the black communities who were forcibly evicted through apartheid laws.

—statutory apartheid might be on its way out, but the government still refuses to address its legacy.

—bills tabled during the past parliamentary session continued to entrench tribal and undemocratic local government structures and also created interim forms of local government, leaving planning and local government decisions out of the control of the people.

—homelands are central pillars of apartheid. Yet the government is not intending to undo these creations of apartheid.

—the government may have abolished the Group Areas Act, but instead in the same act which abolished it, replaced it with the provision for "communities to establish their own standards". These measures will have the effect of protecting white privilege and maintaining the status quo in residential areas.

Others who endorsed the letter are: National Interim Civic's Committee, National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel-JHB [Johannesburg]), Operation Masakane for the Homeless (Omhle), Farmworkers Research and Resources Project (FRRP), Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC), Planact, the Environmental and Development Agency (EDA) and Dr Wolfman Kistner.

Copies of the letter will also be sent to major South African groups.

**Botha Interviewed on Nonproliferation Treaty**

*MB2706205691 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in English 2007 GMT 27 Jun 91*

[Interview with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha by Penny Smythe on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Penny Smythe] Good evening, and welcome to "Agenda," Mr. Botha. Thank you for joining us. Why has South Africa decided to accede after hesitating for so long?

[Pik Botha] It was the right moment.

[Smythe] In what way?

[Botha] It was the right moment because there is really no need any longer not to sign. If I can take you back into history a little bit, there was a time that there was a conventional military threat against this country. There was a time that the Soviet Union was involved, and encouraged regional conflicts, also in our region. We know about the war in Angola, we know about the other threats, and all this has changed suddenly as the result of the dramatic events in Central and Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union's withdrawal from regional conflicts, the tremendous changes inside this country, the lessening of tension, the cold war that has subsided. Against that background, the time has come for this country not to leave any doubt about its sincerity and intention not to exacerbate the nuclear threat problem to the world.

[Smythe] What was the original purpose of starting nuclear power stations and research stations in South Africa?

[Botha] Scientific and peaceful. Koeberg is the only nuclear power station on the African continent. So our scientists have been concentrating of developing research in the use of nuclear power for peaceful scientific purposes. Now there is no way that a country embarks upon a program of developing nuclear research for peaceful purposes, and sooner or later it can acquire the knowledge and expertise to produce a nuclear explosive device. [sentence as heard]

[Smythe] As we saw on that little insert, there was of course speculation—I think in 1989 a ballistic missile was fired and various flashes, et cetera, were seen in the atmosphere over the South Atlantic. There was speculation that it was a secret development of nuclear weapons in South Africa.

[Botha] I am only too painfully aware of all this, because I had to bear the brunt in the international arena. But that was just plain (?complete) nonsense. I think it must have been the imagination of the American Congress trying to fill in what never happened, in my opinion.

[Smythe] So are you saying that actually South Africa has no nuclear bomb capability? Could we not have done that at all? Is that not possible?

[Botha] No, I did not say that. I did not say that. The position is that when you embark, as I said, on a nuclear program also for peaceful uses, as we have done, then naturally, the scientific knowledge, the scientific expertise that is gained puts a country in a position where it can—should it wish to produce a nuclear explosive device—do so.

[Smythe] How far along could we have gone in producing a bomb?

[Botha] I have not got the knowledge to pronounce myself accurately on this question.

[Smythe] I [word insinct] that you would have the knowledge to know how far South Africa—whether we were actually capable of producing it?

[Botha] Yes, I said so in the past, and our prime ministers, and our state president said so in public. Let us be straightforward about it. There was a time that it was useful for the world to guess, to be in doubt. There was a time that we were totally alone and isolated—arms embargo against us, isolation, boycotts, sanctions, conventional threat of a very, very serious nature. There was a time when it was useful that the world should have thought that we had that capacity—and we had it, let me make that very, very clear. That time has passed, and it is now irrelevant. It is completely irrelevant. What is now of relevance is that we are now prepared to accede to the NPT, the Nonproliferation Treaty, which will oblige us to conclude an agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency, which agency will then have access to all our installations to ensure that our program cannot be diverted.

[Smythe] And when would that signing take place? What is the procedure with something like that to accede to it, and then, in some later stage, to sign? How does that work?

[Botha] Yes, no, accession: You could only have signed the treaty in its original form 180 days after it was finalized. Now that time has passed long ago, and now you must accede. That means, we must merely now go through our own constitutional process, an executive minute must be put together, the state president must sign it, I will sign it, and then we will determine which person will deposit the instrument of accession, and then there is a legal obligation on us to enter into negotiations, and within 18 months from the start of those negotiations, the inspection procedures and safeguards would be in place.

[Smythe] To what extent does the timing of this decision have to do with the fact that the Bush administration and the leaders of the European Common Market are about to review sanctions on South Africa?

[Botha] Well, if one has a choice in life, then certainly one can exercise that choice in a way which will be of the greatest advantage to our country. And we exercised that choice. But let me make it clear, the cabinet only yesterday decided to accede to this treaty, although, naturally, those of us intimately involved for weeks, under the leadership of the president, have been discussing this, and analyzing this, the right moment to take it to cabinet, and that moment was yesterday, the day before the European heads of government would meet in Luxembourg.

[Smythe] So we must make up, sort of form our own opinions, really, as to whether this timing was actually to coincide with that sort of situation, because obviously you are hoping for some kind of international recognition of the fact that South Africa has finally decided....

[Botha, interrupting] Well, not only recognition. When I called in, today, the representatives of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union—they now have a representative here, they are the three depository states—their

reaction was historic, dramatic, most welcome. I really expect a worldwide favorable, constructive, and positive reaction, which will again put South Africa further ahead on the road of international respectability and acceptance.

[Smythe] You say a positive reaction. Do you expect the same positive reaction locally, in South Africa?

[Botha] I think reasonable people must of necessity come to the conclusion.

[Smythe] Are you expecting anybody to be unreasonable?

[Botha] Yes. There might be elements on the right, who would say we are signing our potential capacity that could be of great military value to us. I say no, it is not true. It is just unthinkable, after the Gulf War, in which Saddam Husayn was involved, it is unthinkable that anyone could be that stupid to think that you could get away with any plans to produce a nuclear explosive device and try to use it against others.

[Smythe] All right. I would like to come back to the Middle East, if I may. You mentioned the far right—what about the ANC [African National Congress]? They are at the moment having a conference of their own. How do you think they will react to this?

[Botha] I really do not know. If they have peace in mind, they must support it.

[Smythe] Well, let me be devil's advocate for a second here, and say: To what extent is this a strategic move by the government to possibly deny access to a future, possibly hardline government, to nuclear material?

[Botha] No, no. I can assure you, that is not an element or a factor that we ever considered. We purely and simply, on each step this government is taking, analyze the circumstances, and what is in the interests of South Africa. This is completely in line with President de Klerk's bold initiatives: the removal of apartheid; before that, the independence of Namibia; and now this. If you look at South Africa's isolation, you will find that the three main flashpoints were indeed Namibia, apartheid, and our reluctance to accede to the Nonproliferation Treaty. As far as I am concerned, we have completed, with this decision, we have completed what I would call the obstacles in the way of normalizing our international relations. There cannot be a reasonable government, after this evening, who can still doubt our sincerity to change and to introduce a new South Africa. The question I have put to the ambassadors I saw today was: Our process is irreversible. Is your process of acknowledging this irreversible?

[Smythe] Why, because some of the problems in the past were the fact that South Africa wanted guarantees of being treated on equal footing with other signatories? Has that actually been guaranteed now?

[Botha] Well, it has not been guaranteed, but I have no doubt in my mind—and the first signs are already there—that with this decision, our scientists will again have access to world symposia, world forums, an exchange of technical and scientific knowledge. We will gain from this. We might improve our chances of selling our uranium. We will now be part, again, of modern, new, scientific development in this particular field. They can share with us our knowledge, we can share their knowledge in the many fields that will still be open in future, I believe, in the field of nuclear power.

[Smythe] Although some countries still have sanctions against various scientists and military people, arms dealers, et cetera, do you think this will actually annul that sanction?

[Botha] Completely. I have no doubt, from the reaction I have already received tentatively, before the news was even made known, I have no doubt in my mind that this is a major, most historic decision that this government has taken in the interests of South Africa. It will open up more doors than before. I cannot see what else we could have done, on the one hand. On the other hand, I think that by doing it now, Namibia, apartheid, NPT—this was my ideal. We have done it, and I predict to you that this country will benefit greatly from this decision.

[Smythe] But why has it taken so long? I mean, this has been going on for.... [changes thought] Mr. Botha had, in the past, said that South Africa was ready to negotiate with the other countries, and nothing sort of came of it. Why has it suddenly happened now?

[Botha] We were concerned. We were concerned. The previous president, indeed, stated that he was in principle prepared to accede. But he was concerned about discrimination.

[Smythe] Political discrimination from other countries?

[Botha] Yes, against South Africa. In other words, you accede to this treaty, and you do not derive any material benefits. You are still kept out of exchanges, of scientific and technical data and knowledge. Now, that has changed dramatically during the past two years.

[Smythe] You made the statement once that South Africa would agree to accede if equal commitment would come from other states in southern Africa. Is this still the position, and is it in fact happening?

[Botha] We are very close to it. Yes, we indicated that we would wish to accede, in the context of a southern Africa free zone, a zone free from nuclear weapons. And we asked the depositary states, that is, Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union, to speak to the Frontline States' leaders, and they did so. And this triggered this decision, in this sense that very recently they reported to me that they had now received an indication from all the states of southern Africa—those who have not yet acceded—that they would do so. And that was the final trigger for this government to decide that there was no

reason any longer for us to hesitate, that we should now use the opportunity. In any case, we would have come to this decision in three weeks, four weeks. It is better to come to that decision at a time that President Bush must consider the lifting of sanctions, and the day before the European heads of government are meeting in Luxembourg.

[Smythe] You mentioned earlier on the change of scene in the Eastern European countries, and the fact that tension has been lessened between the power blocs, the East and the West. But what about the remaining volatile areas of the world such as the Middle East, where several countries have not signed?

[Botha] Well, with all respect....

[Smythe, interrupting] And you mentioned Iraq, for example?

[Botha] Well, that is their problem. Now that is their problem. We are out of that problem now. It is behind us, and I look forward to the impact this decision will make on the world tomorrow.

[Smythe] Could this actually—I asked you earlier on why it has taken so long and you gave a response—but could it also have been time used to change certain nuclear, or fissionable materials into acceptable international nuclear materials, rather than possibly for bomb building?

[Botha] I do not know, but that is irrelevant. The moment a government indicated its decision to accede to the Nonproliferation Treaty, the world welcomes that, and it is then irrelevant what that government might have done in the past. By that I am now saying that we did it. I am not denying; I am now confirming. I say it is irrelevant.

[Smythe] And do you feel that the international community will give guarantees, they will be positive that it will be an enormous step forward for South Africa?

[Botha] No doubt about it. The procedures—we must now negotiate with the agency an agreement in terms of which there will be inspection, and safeguards, which will make it completely impossible for any person, or instance, in the territory of South Africa to divert nuclear power to weapons.

[Smythe] What do you think is the likely future for nuclear power in South Africa?

[Botha] I think it is great. As I said before, we are the only country with a nuclear power station already, in Koeberg. And with pollution threatening the world, and with no other source of energy really economically exploitable at the present moment—like the sun, or the sea, or the waves, or the wind—this is the source of energy on which we will have to concentrate; make it safer and that sort of thing. This is the future, and South Africa is now part of this club of scientists that can talk

to one another. The doors are not closed anymore. I think it is a tremendous decision.

[Smythe] Are you hoping, too, that this will lead to a possible nuclear free zone in southern Africa?

[Botha] I think we are on the brink of it. I think we are very close to it, and this will form part of our ideal—to create a southern African economic community—all of this builds up into that concept, and supports that concept.

[Smythe] Thank you very much, Mr. Botha, for joining us.

[Botha] Most welcome.

### De Klerk on Treaty

MB2706203491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2026 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Text] Pretoria June 27 SAPA—South Africa's position in the international community has changed so dramatically that accession to the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) reaffirmed its commitment to take its rightful place in the world community. President F.W. de Klerk said on Thursday. In a statement, Mr de Klerk said that on June 26 the Cabinet approved accession to the NPT. The agreement would become formal as soon as required constitutional and administrative arrangements have been made.

With the dramatic events in Central and Eastern Europe, the end of the cold war, the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, "the threat of a conventional military conflict in the southern Africa region involving superpower rivalry has diminished substantially", Mr de Klerk said.

"World-wide there has been a growing acceptance of a commitment to the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts."

After discussion with the three depositary states—the USA, USSR, United Kingdom—and other interested parties the South African Government showed it was willing to accede to the treaty. Accession to the NPT by Zambia and Tanzania "further enhanced the environment for peace and security", Mr de Klerk said.

"We are therefore hopeful that these developments, including South Africa's own accession to the treaty, will now make it possible to achieve the longstanding goal of a nuclear weapons-free zone in southern Africa."

South Africa had established an advanced nuclear technology base and nuclear industry, and accession to the NPT would facilitate the international exchange of nuclear technology, Mr de Klerk said.

**ANC Outlines July Conference Plans**

*MB2706125591 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English  
27 Jun 91 p 20*

[Unattributed report: "ANC Outlines Plans for July Conference"]

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] is approaching its 48th national conference next week with the view that it will be the next government of South Africa, the conference's Natal Preparatory Committee [NPC] said in Durban yesterday.

Addressing the media at the University of Durban Westville's Sports Centre, where the conference will take place, regional organising secretary Mr Sbu Ndebele said: "We view the conference as being the conference that precedes the ANC being the next government.

"The issues it promotes are the issues it will follow as a government," said Ndebele.

His comments were echoed by another NPC member, Dr Manto Tshabalala, who said:

"We're serious about being the next government. We're there to prepare the machinery to be the next government.

"We're hoping to come to with a clear programme of action to lead to majority rule," she said:

The conference would be "underscoring our determination to be the next government," Tshabalala added. Three thousand delegates from South Africa and outside the country will converge on Durban over the weekend for the conference which takes place from next Tuesday to Saturday [2-6 July].

A rally at Durban's Kings Park stadium next Sunday [7 July] will announce to supporters the newly-elected ANC leaders.

The new president will also deliver a "major speech on what the ANC has to say about the future of South Africa," said Mr Roy Padiyachie, also an NPC member.

Another NPC member, Ms Linda Zuma announced that about 350 foreign guests representing countries and political parties would attend the conference, but only for the opening and closing sessions:

They will spend the rest of the time on ANC arranged tours to places of historical interest and of topical importance.

The tours include trips to areas gripped by political violence and communities facing land and rural developmental problems.

They will also focus on issues of local government, the economy and education.

The programme for foreign visitors is planned to look closely at the issues the ANC will be addressing in its commissions during the conference.

Ndebele said delegates to the conference would include 2,000 from 14 regions inside the country, 48 delegates from the Youth league, 42 delegates from the Women's League, 10 from Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions], 10 from the SACP [South African Communist Party], two from the UDF [United Democratic Front] and other ANC stalwarts.

There would also be about 85 delegat's from "fraternal" organisations such as the SACC [South African Council of Churches], Nafcoc [National African Federated Chambers of Commerce] and sporting bodies.

**'Broad Agreement' on Returnees' General Amnesty**

*MB2706122991 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 27 Jun 91 p 1*

[Report by Tim Cohen: "All Exiles To Get Amnesty Soon, Says UN"]

[Text] Government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) are poised to announce an agreement on the return of exiles in which a general amnesty will be granted to SA's [South Africa] estimated 40,000 returnees.

Final details have yet to be threshed out, but a UNHCR spokesman said yesterday broad agreement had been reached during talks between the two parties in Cape Town last week.

The granting of a general amnesty, with the exclusion of serious common law offenders, and a process whereby returnees would not have to list their offences before returning, are believed to be the central components of the agreement.

The agreement has also agreed that UNHCR representatives will have full access to all exiles on their return.

The issue of citizenship for returned exiles was discussed.

The granting of a general amnesty would break the impasse that has developed between government and the UNHCR and political groups and resolve one of the main obstacles to negotiations. The National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of SA Exiles (NCCR), which co-ordinates repatriation on behalf of a number of political groupings, said last week it would be forced to close down if agreement with the UNHCR could not be reached.

Although the final agreement is not expected to be announced for about a month, the UNHCR spokesman said "broad agreement was reached on a general amnesty" at the talks between government representatives and the UNHCR.

The spokesman said the UNHCR usually required some form of general amnesty and access to exiles once they had returned.

After last week's meeting the groups announced only that broad consensus had been reached and that the meeting was held in a friendly spirit.

It is believed that the draft agreement, to be discussed by the Cabinet, provides for a general amnesty with the exception of serious common law offenders.

The SA government has the right to object to an exile's return and provision is made for an appeal procedure.

The new procedure would significantly simplify the current bureaucratic process agreed between government and the ANC [African National Congress] in the Pretoria Minute whereby exiles are asked to apply for indemnity by listing all the crimes they have committed.

The draft agreement also makes provisions for citizenship rights for exiles and for exiles returning to the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states.

If government and the UNHCR do reach agreement, a large source of funding is expected to be made available by Western nations.

Estimates of the amount required for the return of exiles range between R[Rand]40m-[million] and R70m.

Government comment was not forthcoming last night.

### News Conference Held on Opening of White Schools

#### Education Ministers Speak

*MB2706164891 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 27 Jun 91*

[Text] The government has decided to make available to other population groups white schools that have been closed because of a drop in pupil numbers. The schools will be made available with existing staff and facilities.

Three ministers of education, Mr. Piet Claase, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, and Mr. Louis Pienaar, said at a news conference in Pretoria that the white education department had reserve capacity, which would now be put at the disposal of other departments.

Communities would be consulted before a decision was taken on the transfer of a white school, and teachers would be given the opportunity to decide whether to remain at the school. It was also announced that red tape, which previously caused the transfer of a school to take months, would be cut.

Earlier the South African Board of Jewish Education declined the government's offer to use the empty Orange Grove Primary School in Johannesburg. The decision was announced by the board's chairman, Mr. Russell

Gaddin, after talks with the National Education Coordinating Committee, which had paved the way for direct talks between the committee and the government.

The school drew worldwide interest yesterday, when the police stopped buses that were to take children to the school, and the organizers decided at the last minute not to occupy the empty classrooms.

The government admitted that overcrowded schools in Alexandra were a problem, but said it would be impractical to organize transport for about 1,000 pupils to Orange Grove, because of the distance.

Our representative in London reports that the incident received prominent coverage in the British media.

#### Van Der Merwe's Comments

*MB2706150291 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1417 GMT 27 Jun 91*

[By Clyde Russell]

[Text] Pretoria June 27 SAPA—The government has eased the process whereby black education authorities can take over white schools that have closed down or are in danger of closing down, black Education Minister [title as received] Stoffel van der Merwe, said on Thursday.

Addressing a media conference in Pretoria, Dr Van der Merwe said white schools would now have the authority to admit black students.

"Empty schools will still be made available to other departments of education or organisations, but with a minimum of red tape."

The transfer of such schools would now be "done quickly and without expense".

However, the minister pointed out that before any transfers took place, there would have to be consultation with the various communities that would be affected.

"Discrimination on the basis of race must be eliminated—but this does not mean that one can disregard the interests of various language and race groups."

The rationalisation of teachers' training colleges would create "thousands of opportunities for tertiary education available to all population group?", the minister said.

This would be accomplished by making the closed-down colleges available as technikons or technical colleges.

"No facility should be lost for education," Dr Van der Merwe said. He said 40 formerly white schools have already been allocated to other educational departments and institutions, including two to black education.

On the subject of Orange Grove primary school being made available to black pupils from Alexandra township, Dr Van der Merwe stuck to his guns, saying such a move would be uneconomical.

He said the busing of pupils to vacant schools was a "waste of money" and it would be better to build schools in the areas where pupils needed them.

However, if the Jewish education authorities wanted to turn Orange Grove primary school over to black pupils, the government would have no objections.

Dr Van der Merwe said it was accepted that in order for education problems to be resolved, there must be as little disruption as possible to schooling.

"There is wide acceptance of the point of departure that the transition to a new education system must be managed in such a way that education can continue without disruption."

The minister said it was the government's goal to have non-racial education, but "it is not possible to change the structure of education overnight".

#### AWB Criticizes Reserve Bank's Role in Economy

MB2806080691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0725 GMT 28 Jun 91

[Text] Ventersdorp June 28 SAPA—The Boer people do not accept the present or future role of the SA [South African] Reserve Bank in the country's economy, the executive council of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [AWB—Afrikaner Resistance Movement] said in a statement on Friday [28 June].

The AWB council was commenting on Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' statement on June 25 that there would be an independent reserve bank in the new South Africa.

"We would like to draw attention to the fact that 100 percent of the Reserve Bank's shareholders are secret and anonymous. Legislation prevents the people from knowing who these people are who have absolute control over our day-to-day living.

"It is absolutely shocking to think that it is these self-same people who hold our people in the grip of such economic throttling and slavery."

The AWB said Reserve Bank shareholders controlled public money, had a monopoly on gold reserves and sales, and had the entire people (volk) in slavery by determining "throttling rates of interest".

They also determined who of them, or their friends, could take billions of rands out of the country. The people had been impoverished enough by "these strange, international money magnates of the 'new world order'.

"The AWB will give the people control again over their own financial system, and we will sparingly enjoy our own gold and other resources in our mother earth as a legacy for our own children."

#### Mandela: Police 'Directly Involved' in Violence

MB2706134691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1237 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Text] Empangeni, Natal, June 27 SAPA—The SA [South African] Police [SAP] are directly involved in killing innocent and defenceless people in the South Africa ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Nelson Mandela alleged in Empangeni, on Natal's North Coast, on Thursday.

Addressing about 600 people packed into the local town hall, Mr Mandela charged that evidence of the involvement of the security forces and Askaris [turned former ANC guerrillas] in violence was "overwhelming".

"The government may have tried to persuade the police force not to use these methods, but the government has created a monster and it will be difficult to use the same police for the transformation to democracy," Mr Mandela said.

He added that the SAP had been trained to regard demonstrations by black people as a declaration of war on white supremacists".

He also alleged police were directly involved with "some organisations" in attacking innocent people. He did not name the organisations.

Mr Mandela's allegation comes just days after renewed claims by the Natal Midlands branch of the ANC that security forces were involved in recent Inkatha/ANC fighting in Richmond and Greytown.

The ANC leader urged black people to "unite to pursue our liberation together".

"We must not march against one another—we must join forces and march against our common enemy."

Black peoples' opponents were using the strategy of dividing Africans to conquer them, he added.

Referring to the Inkatha/ANC conflict, Mr Mandela said: "Let us forget our previous quarrels and mistakes and let us think about the future."

He said the ANC was making every effort to heal "old wounds".

The ANC was concerned about re-establishing the relationship between the Zulu kingdom and itself.

To this effect, he hoped to meet Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini in August.

"I would like him to know I regard him as my king just as I regard other Zulu kings as mine."

He said Zulu kings like Shaka and Dingaan were not only heroes of the Zulus, but heroes of all Africans.

"Zulu leaders have been among the foremost of those who fought to unite Africans," Mr Mandela said.

Commenting on the ANC's relationship with the government, he said his organisation still held the "strategic initiative".

Sanctions were still in place and "the government's argument that sanctions are crumbling is propaganda".

The ANC had defeated State President F.W. de Klerk as the government had now accepted the ANC policy of a non-racial democracy, he concluded.

#### **De Klerk, Mandela Awarded UNESCO Peace Prize**

*MB2806075591 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500 GMT 28 Jun 91*

[Text] The State President, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, and the deputy president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, have been named by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization as joint winners of a new international peace prize.

The 350,000 grand prize to be shared by the recipients is named after President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast. It was established at UNESCO's general conference in 1989 and awarded for the first time this year.

The jury was headed by a former American secretary of state, Dr. Henry Kissinger, and included Nobel Peace Prize winner (Adolfo Perez Esquivel) of Argentina and Nobel physics laureate (Abdus Salaam) of Pakistan.

#### **Buthelezi Says ANC, PAC Retraining in Uganda**

*MB2706165891 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 27 Jun 91*

[Text] Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwa-Zulu has claimed that ANC [African National Congress] and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] members are being retrained by the Ugandan Defense Force.

He said at Ulundi that although the apparent intention was to prepare the people for integration into the South African Defense Force, such plans could only intensify the conflict between black political organizations, and make reconciliation impossible.

#### **ANC Reportedly Seeks To Acquire SOWETAN**

*MB2806105691 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1021 GMT 28 Jun 91*

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg June 28 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] is to make another bid for South Africa's largest circulating black daily newspaper,

the SOWETAN, informed sources in the movement told SAPA this week.

However, the chief executive of Argus Newspapers Ltd, Mr Peter McLean, said the newspaper was definitely not up for sale.

"The ANC has not spoken to us recently about purchasing the paper. They did speak to us about the SOWETAN three months ago. We said then the paper was not for sale. Our view has not changed. It is not up for sale," said Mr McLean on Friday.

ANC publicity official Saki Macozoma said a feasibility study into running a daily newspaper was currently underway.

"Any discussions with the Argus company must be viewed as part of the feasibility study into a daily newspaper we are currently conducting. We did show interest in the SOWETAN, but I don't know yet whether it has been renewed."

The sources in the ANC said the latest bid would be backed by about R[rand]14 million from Swedish and Danish aid agencies.

Mr Macozoma confirmed various ANC sympathisers in several countries abroad had expressed an interest in providing money for a daily.

The deal would involve changing the SOWETAN's name and circulating it nationally. The source said they would negotiate with the Argus company on the use of excess printing capacity in Durban, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

The Argus-controlled Allied Publishers—the distribution wing of the company—could wind up with a lucrative contract to distribute the ANC daily.

The bid, if successful, will echo a similar deal between Tiny Rowland's Lonrho [London Rhodesia] company and the Zambian Government after independence in 1964.

When President Kenneth Kaunda moved to take over all local publications, Rowlands negotiated a deal whereby the newspaper he owned would still be printed and distributed by Lonrho subsidiaries.

The ANC last year made an unsuccessful bid for CITY PRESS newspaper, part of the Nasionale Pers [National Press] group.

—In recent months, the Argus company has also held closed-door talks with the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] on its media needs and interests.

**27 Jun Press on Schools, ANC Line-Up**

MB2706120091

[Editorial Report]

**THE STAR**

Need for Revised Policy on Empty White Schools—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 27 June in a page 24 editorial says the National Education Coordinating Committee "did the mature thing" by calling off action to take over Orange Grove Primary School and thereby not risking bloodshed. "Now the Government should respond in a similarly non-confrontational manner by urgently revising its policy on empty white schools." THE STAR believes there is a "secret Government plan to ensure that most white schools remain mainly white without statutory race bars."

'Sinister Pattern' in Train Attacks—A second editorial on the same page notes that this week's Soweto train "massacre" will probably be "written off as just another 'senseless' attack." "But is it really coincidence that these headline-catching deeds so often occur when peace moves, at local or national level, are showing signs of progress, however tentative?" "Inescapably a sinister pattern seems to emerge—and with it, a hardening widespread belief that there is a malign organisation, or organisations, at work behind the scenes, stoking the furnace of discontent, determined to prevent national stabilisation. Despite all the denials and washing of hands, there is the strongest suspicion that some in the upper echelons of government and the security services know a great deal more than the rest of us. We are owed an explanation—and an admission, if needed."

**BUSINESS DAY**

Public Service Remuneration on 'Results Basis'—If all public servants were given only 60 percent of their remuneration as basic pay, and they actually had to earn the other 40 percent "on a results basis" as Finance Minister Barend du Plessis proposes, "public expenditure would drop while efficiency increased," states a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 27 June. This system could be extended to members of parliament and cabinet ministers, and "it would bring a new element of responsiveness to our public representatives."

ANC Executive Line-Up To Influence Negotiations Pace—Billy Paddock writes from Cape Town on the same page that the new make-up of the African National Congress' (ANC) national executive committee "will influence the pace at which the ANC readies itself for government" negotiations. "It will determine whether the mistrust of recent months can be eliminated." The government hopes the congress will "strike a fine balance between continuity and change. The ANC is seen as needing an invigorated new leadership. On the other hand, great harm could be done if the impression is created that the old leadership and its trusted lieutenants and advisers—people like Jacob Zuma, Aziz Pahad and Thabo Mbeki—who facilitated negotiations until now, have been sidelined. This, the

government believes, is the key to the ANC transforming itself from a liberation movement into a political party."

**RAPPORT**

Parties in Negotiation Process Should Assist De Klerk—"The apartheid funeral has been held over approximately three weeks already. What happens now?" asks a page 22 editorial in Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans on 23 June. "The pillars of apartheid have been flattened, but the rubble has to be removed." "President De Klerk cannot build a new South Africa without the full support of the parties in the negotiation process." "These partners in the negotiation process always have advice to offer the people actively engaged in nation building while they stand in the wings without doing anything constructive." "President De Klerk now needs constructive assistance from the partners in the negotiation process and from his friends abroad." "To all committed to the negotiation process the message is clear: Stop your delaying tactics and come to the negotiation table."

**BEELD**

Call for Clarity on Political Prisoner Issue—"If the Americans are not convinced that all political prisoners have been freed then their stand on sanctions will remain in force. Japan and Israel have already indicated that they will be influenced by American decisions," notes a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 24 June. "The debate in America on the release of political prisoners is of utmost importance for both the ANC, who is desperately trying to hold on to sanctions, and the government who is eager to see sanctions lifted. The government is skeptical about the ANC's handling of the issue. The organization knows that this is the last stumbling block to be removed before sanctions are lifted and it is possible to take advantage of the situation by continually dragging out names of criminals saying that they should be regarded as political prisoners." "President Bush made a welcome statement by saying that his government does not recognize perpetrators of violence as political prisoners." "The issue must be clarified otherwise we will always be the victims of political games."

**28 Jun Press on ANC Leadership**

MB2806120291

[Editorial Report]

**THE STAR**

Unity Key at ANC's Durban Conference—In discussing the African National Congress' (ANC) upcoming July national conference, Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 28 June in a page 12 editorial says "Unity, surface unity at least, will be the overriding dynamic. The nominations already received from the regions show this clearly." "On sanctions, if there is a softening, it will probably be so heavily qualified as to be read any way one likes. The same applies to economic policy." If there is a likely outcome to

the week's deliberations," "it is one of reclaimed self-respect and confidence." Since December's ANC "consultative" conference" the ANC has "played hard-ball with Pretoria, and its constituents have loved it. So one can expect fireworks in Durban, not fatalities."

### BUSINESS DAY

Finance Minister Should Investigate Reserve Bank—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 28 June in a page 10 editorial calls on Finance Minister Barend du Plessis to question the South African (SA) Reserve Bank's "decision to invoke secrecy provisions of the SA Reserve Bank Act." "It is outrageous that the Reserve Bank, under attack for alleged collusive dealing, has now invoked the secrecy provisions of its governing Act in the middle of a court action." "If the Reserve Bank hopes to keep support for its independence, it must realise that South Africa has emerged from the obsessive secrecy of the Botha era. Whether or not the Bank should be independent of government, the Bank's officials are civil servants responsible to all South Africans and their actions in contentious issues must be open to public scrutiny." The finance minister should investigate the Reserve Bank itself and "should waste no time in doing so." This "would also prove the Bank and government are independent of each other."

### THE WEEKLY MAIL

ANC Conference 'Moment of Truth'—The ANC's Durban conference is the ANC's "moment of truth: the need for a solid, accountable leadership and a clear policy and strategic direction can be put off no longer," writes Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 28 June-4 July in a page 18 editorial, "Either the organisation emerges at the end of the week signalling that it has made the leap from an exiled, underground organisation, or it is in danger of losing its status as a key player in South Africa's transformation process." "The purpose of the congress must be to develop a leadership and a set of policies that ensure it can do so from a position of strength; that ensures it can cease to be defensive and reactive and be able to wrest the political initiative away from the government."

People Must 'Force the Issue' To Fight Apartheid—A second editorial on the same page states "the government must know it is playing with fire when it shows such contempt for black education demands that it closes schools and teacher-training colleges and refuse blacks students, desperate for decent facilities, access to them. The lessons of this week's attempts to occupy a Johannesburg school are clear: The only way ordinary South Africans are able to get rid of the vestiges of apartheid is by forcing the issue." "If the law blocks people's access to decent schools, then the law is an ass."

### SOWETAN

ANC Leadership Doing 'Good Job So Far'—"People have obviously made mistakes, but considering all the stresses and strains involved, the ANC leadership has done a good job so far," declares a page 10 editorial in

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 28 June. "They have preserved their own unity, they have mostly conducted themselves with great dignity and they have made important progress towards the goal of constitutional negotiations with the Government."

### NEW NATION

Quality of Present ANC Leadership Praised—Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 28 June-4 July in its page 6 editorial believes the ANC should set an "example of democratic practice within the organisation itself." The ANC has a "long tradition of tried and tested leaders," committed to "releasing our people from economic, social and political exploitation." Therefore, NEW NATION hopes the leadership elected at the July conference will retain "these qualities that have, over the decades, set the ANC apart from other political formations."

### \* Boshoff: Afrikaner Homeland Attainable

91AF1153A BEELD in Afrikaans 16 May 91 p 10

[Report by Magda Theron]

[Text] The Afrikaner Freedom Foundation (AVS) is working on a proposal for peace with its nation state idea and not for revolution. If that is rejected, however, the consequences will be unpredictable. The history of the Afrikaner people suggests that foreign domination is not acceptable, according to Professor Carl Boshoff, president and leader of the Afrikaner National Guard.

He referred to President F.W. de Klerk's statement that an Afrikaner homeland as proposed by Professor Boshoff is an "unattainable dream," and he said that he did not accept the double-talk of inviting all parties to the negotiations and then rejecting the nation state in advance.

The AVS agrees that a homeland based on white skin is not likely to be viable because a people can only demand the right to freedom in its own native country.

Whites as a group do not meet that requirement. The Afrikaner people do meet that, he said.

He also accepts it that South Africa is already so economically and socially integrated that the whole country cannot be an Afrikaner country.

This does not exclude the possibility, however, that there is enough space in the country to develop a Christian Afrikaner state with its own national identity.

Therefore, a type of Balfour declaration is needed as soon as possible so that more impulse can be given to the planning of it, Professor Boshoff says.

### \* Coloreds Not Accepted in Afrikaner Nation

91AF1153B DIE AFRIKANER  
in Afrikaans 15 May 91 p 2

[Commentary: "Betrayal of Afrikaans"]

[Text] The South African Academy, with its recent seminar on the future of Afrikaans, at which the managing director of the National Press, Mr. Ton Vosloo,

advocated the creation of a new Afrikaner nation with inclusion of the Coloreds, once again put a totally unrepresentative accent on the essence of the Afrikaner culture.

Mr. Vosloo advocates an ideology in which there is no room for peoples, where there is room only for individuals who may coincidentally have Afrikaans as their vernacular. For a true people, however, the language is the very life of the community, the spiritual source in which it lives and in which it can express the highest of that which its being a people awakens in it. It is in the nature of a language and its people to be one whole; it is that way in all countries, from the Kurds to the Welsh.

The great 19th century champion of the threatened Dutch language in the Belgian state, Guido Gezelle, stated it as follows in his Flemish idiom: "The language is entirely the people." That is the way it is. That is also the way it is in South Africa, whether the National Press or the South African Academy likes it or not. It is most natural that the Afrikaans language and the nationalism of the Afrikaner people are intertwined in an identical striving for retention of national identity. Identity cannot be two-headed. A nation is basically a blood community, like a large family, within a specific race, without which it does not possess genetic homogeneity and therefore not a true individual national identity. A nation is also a cultural community which is known by its language and grows in its language to an individual form.

A culture, however, is rooted in the race of the people and carries its stamp. If the Afrikaners were Mongols, Arabs, or Khois (Hottentots), the Afrikaner culture would have looked totally different. Therefore the Coloreds, who in the words of the Reverend Hendricks are basically the proud descendants of the Khois, are not Afrikaners or heirs to the White Afrikaner culture, and they can never become so either.

In the time in which we live, the Afrikaner people must fight to the death for its national identity. To want to dilute the people's national identity in such a period, as does Mr. Vosloo, is nothing less than treason.

#### \* Municipal Association Open to All Races

91AF1153C BEELD in Afrikaans 10 May 91 p 4

[Report: "Municipal Employees Accept Members From Any Race"]

[Text] The South African Association of Municipal Employees (SAAME) from now on will admit all municipal employees of all races—who are qualified—as members of the association.

At a special national conference in Bloemfontein the day before yesterday, the constitution of the association, which has 46,000 members, was amended to admit all municipal employees.

According to a statement by Mr. Hans Deetlefs, the national president, this is not a political decision.

"The association is a nonpolitical organization and the decision has been made in that spirit."

He clarified that the association limits its membership to certain job categories.

"Before the elimination of job reservation and the decision by municipalities to become equal-opportunity employers, the jobs were filled exclusively by Whites."

That situation changed, however, when Black workers acquired union rights and discrimination as to race, sex, and religion became illegal.

Other unions which represent employees in the remaining job categories are already registered with SAAME.

The various unions will not overlap into each other's areas, however, said Mr. Deetlefs.

The poll which was held on the opening up of membership resulted in 36,199 members in favor and 3,454 members against.

#### \* Firm Delivers Steel Pipes to Saudi Arabia

91AF1153D BEELD in Afrikaans 16 May 91 p 4

[Report in Business section: "Hall Longmore Gets Contract for Persian Gulf"]

[Text] Within a month after upgrading the export capacity of its Wadeville installation, the manufacturer of steel pipe Hall Longmore, which forms part of the Standard Engineering group, received and exported a large order for supply to the Persian Gulf.

The order was for 3,000 tons of electric-resistance welded steel pipe, worth 3.5 million rands, to be used as petroleum and water conduits in Saudi Arabia.

The pipes, which are from 250 to 350 mm in diameter, are supplied in lengths of 6 and 10 meters and were manufactured to strict U.S. ASTM [American Society for Testing Materials] and API [American Petroleum Institute] quality standards on Hall Longmore's ERW [electric-resistance welded] pipe installation, which it purchased recently.

The managing director, Mr. Martin Done, says that Hall Longmore expects to increase its export orders from 11 million rands in 1990 to almost 30 million rands this year as a result of a more intense sales promotion which is supported by an upgrading of its installation with 10 million rands in equipment.

"Our goal is to reach export sales of 100 million rands per year in the near future, and therefore we will spend another 20 million rands on the continued improvement of our facilities in order to upgrade the capacity and improve the operating efficiency," says Mr. Done.

Hall Longmore is already exporting to more than 20 countries in the Far East and Middle East, Europe, South America, and Africa. With the expectation that sanctions will be applied less severely, additional markets will open up for the company, and Mr. Done says that inquiries are already being received from countries such as the United States.

## Angola

### Opposition Parties Call for National Conference

MB2806073791 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Text] Representatives of six political parties reiterated in Luanda today the need to hold a sovereign national conference within two months. The national conference would discuss the revision of existing laws, and would lay down guidelines for the future republic, as well as review Angola's history. Other issues to be discussed at the national conference include the drafting of the electoral law, and the evaluation of administrative systems.

Dr. Antonio Alberto Neto, leader of the Angolan Democratic Party [PDA] who chaired a news conference today, has the details about the need to hold a national conference:

[Begin Neto recording] The political parties wish to contribute to the development of political institutions, hence the need to become partners in the CCPM [Joint Political and Military Commission] and other Angolan institutions. The political parties wish to contribute to the patriotic and civic enlightenment of citizens so that the latter may exercise their political rights. At present, freedoms are being curtailed.

We stand for the release of all political prisoners, and an exchange of prisoners of war. We urge a full-fledged amnesty for draft dodgers and deserters. The national conference would adopt the law on conscientious objectors to bring about true national reconciliation. [end recording]

Dr. Antonio Alberto Neto said that MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] security forces have been involved in violent actions against the militants of other political parties. He did not elaborate.

He said that a multiparty secretariat will be created to prepare for the national conference.

The news conference was attended by officials of the PDA, the Social Democratic Party, FNLA [Angola National Liberation Front], Angola Social Democratic Party, the Angola National Democratic Convention, and the Front for Democracy.

### Official: 'No Need' for Conference

MB2806083191 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese  
1959 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Text] Luanda, 27 Jun (ANGOP)—Marcolino Moco, MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party secretary general, told ANGOP in Luanda today that there is no need for calling a national conference as demanded by certain emerging opposition parties.

Secretary General Marcolino Moco explained that, at present, he is against the holding of a national conference along the lines of those that have been held in some African countries. According to him, at this stage such a conference could be extremely dangerous to the country's progress and pacification. He noted that in those African countries where such conferences took place, they were the result of popular pressure to change the existing regime but that, in Angola's case, it was the ruling party itself that took the initiative to alter the existing political system.

Some opposition parties, notably the historic FNLA [Angola National Liberation Front] and the greenhorn PDA [Angolan Democratic Party] and CNDA [National Democratic Convention of Angola] parties, have been calling for a national conference with deliberative powers that will in practice replace the People's Assembly, or Angolan parliament.

The MPLA-Labor Party secretary general told ANGOP, however, that studies are under way for the creation of a national consultation organ that would include representatives from all political forces and other institutions, notably the churches.

Marcolino Moco said that that organ would examine all the laws submitted to the People's Assembly for approval and he added that the People's Assembly would only be able to legislate after prior consultation with that organ. He also noted that the parties currently calling for a national conference have not yet been completely legalized and are, therefore, illegitimately doing so.

The MPLA-Labor Party secretary general also drew attention to the fact that the Angolan Government-UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] peace accords state that the existing government, with Jose Eduardo dos Santos as head of state, will remain in force until the holding of general elections scheduled for September 1992.

### Joint Commission Sets Regulations, Tasks 27 Jun

MB2706195791 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Text] The Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM] has finally approved its own regulations. Diplomat Venancio de Moura, official spokesman for CCPM's third plenary meeting, has the details:

[Begin De Moura recording] The CCPM held its third session today, dealing with four issues—namely, the approval of the minutes of the meetings held on 17 and 22 June, the evaluation and approval of the regulations, the evaluation of tasks referred to in the accords, and the evaluation of work that has been carried out, and the tasks to be undertaken by the commissions. Earlier, the CCPM was briefed by UN Representative General Ferreira Gomes on the UN verification and control of the cease-fire.

The commissions referred to above include the Political Commission, the Armed Forces Joint Commission, the CCPM, and the Verification Commission.

The tasks which were dealt with at the meeting include the release of prisoners of war. The session agreed on the date to begin the release of prisoners of war. The meeting also discussed the election timetable, and the neutral role of the police force.

The CCPM members agreed, in the presence of observers and mediators, that the next meeting will be held on 2 July under the terms of the regulations. [end recording]

The CCPM members are scheduled to visit UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] headquarters on 29 June.

#### **FAPLA-FALA Troops Continue Disarming Mines**

*MB2606151091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 26 Jun 91*

[Excerpt] The process of disarming mines is under way throughout the country following the establishment of peace. Accordingly, FAPLA-FALA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola-Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] commissions have already disarmed mines along the Malange-Xamuteba road. During his 24-hour visit to Malange City, Lunda Norte Provincial Governor Norberto dos Santos told our provincial station there that the process will enable the free movement of supply convoys to Lunda Norte Province, thus providing increasing supply of essential commodities to the people. [passage omitted]

#### **FAPLA-FALA Create Luena Military Police**

*MB2806061091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 27 Jun 91*

[Excerpt] The provisional joint FAPLA-FALA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola-Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] military commission of Luena has decided to establish another joint patrol. It will operate as a military police unit to ensure public law and order.

The decision was made at a meeting held at Luena airport on 25 June. The meeting evaluated a number of incidents reported at Sacassange involving government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] troops, as well as civilians. The meeting also discussed the disarming of landmines along the roads. [passage omitted]

#### **Free Movement of People, Goods Reported in Huambo**

*MB2606202091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 26 Jun 91*

[Text] There are improved working and traveling conditions throughout the country as a result of the restoration

of peace. In Huambo Province, people can now see trucks coming from Huila Province. What is more, people are no longer forced to carry travel permits. Our correspondent Feliciano Zunda has further details:

[Begin Zunda recording] A number of private vehicles have been seen in Huambo City coming from Huila Province. Motorists have been using the Caonda-Quipungo road after the disarming of mines by FAPLA-FALA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola-Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces. The Caonda-Quipungo road, which is vital for the movement of people and goods from both provinces, had been closed to traffic for many years because of the war. Vehicles from Huila have also been frequently spotted in the districts bordering Huambo Province, notably Caala.

What is more, travel permits and the curfew which were in force for many years [words indistinct] Province have disappeared after the signing of the Angolan peace accords on 31 May. People now travel to districts and other areas, particularly to Benguela and Huila Provinces, without travel permits. Citizens can also move about freely in the streets without being required to show documents, although security officials have not issued any statement to the contrary. [end recording]

#### **Opposition Notes Lack of Propaganda Resources**

*MB2806065791 Luanda ANGOP in French 1935 GMT 27 Jun 91*

[Text] London, 27 Jun (ANGOP)—The Angolan Democratic Forum [FDA] currently has 40,000 supporters in the provinces of Luanda, Benguela and Bie. This was disclosed by FDA Human Rights Secretary Dinho Chingunji in London on Wednesday.

In an exclusive interview with ANGOP, Mr. Chingunji said that his party plans to open branches in the central and southern cities of Benguela and Cuito, as well as in Luena, in eastern Angola.

He lamented his party's lack of funds and noted that, without financial, material, and human resources "it will not be possible to convey our message and make propaganda."

Mr. Chingunji criticized the government's alleged partiality. He emphasized [words indistinct] "we, the other parties, do not yet have the same powers the government enjoys in broadcasting its message and propaganda to the people. We believe that all Angolan parties should have the same access to propaganda as the big parties do, such as the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]."

He expressed regret over what he described as a grave political situation around the MPLA and UNITA. Mr. Chingunji noted that "dialogue on the country's political

situation should not be restricted to those two parties. All parties should seriously get down to talks on Angola's future."

Mr. Chingunji was also openly critical of foreign financing for certain political parties. He described it as "interference in Angola's internal affairs." Nonetheless, Mr. Chingunji would accept aid from foreign parties and organizations.

The FDA secretary for human rights said that an eventual coalition with other parties "would depend on the evolution of the situation." He added, however, that the FDA might seek alliances with other so-called third power parties.

Mr. Dinho Chingunji explained that an alliance with the MPLA would be a possibility if the government "put an end to corruption, respected the UN Charter on Human Rights, and set in motion democracy without intimidation."

The FDA official is a former UNITA dissident. As a condition for a coalition with UNITA, Mr. Chingunji said he "would demand an end to human rights violations, the return of people kept as hostages in the bush and the abandonment of a pro-Maoistic ideology."

He explained that the FDA is formed by a group of young UNITA dissidents led by Mr. Jorge Chicote. Mr. Dinho Chingunji concluded by saying that the FDA electoral campaign will focus on the need for protecting human rights and improving the living standards of the people in general, and of the war-handicapped in particular.

#### \* Main Points of Estoril Protocol Published

91AF11504 Lisbon PUBLICO  
in Portuguese 28 May 91 p 10-11

[Text] A month ago when the Accords on Peace in Angola were initiated after a year's negotiations mediated by the Portuguese government, PUBLICO disclosed the contents of three of the four documents bringing military hostilities to an end and setting up inspection mechanisms for the transition to democracy. Today we reveal the so-called Estoril Protocol. The document contains crucial agreements and understandings on political and military matters such as: elections; functioning of the Joint Political-Military Commission [CCPM]; internal security; political rights of UNITA [Union for the Total Independence of Angola]; administrative structures; and the makeup of the Angolan Armed Forces.

Next Friday, 31 May at 1900 in Lisbon's Necessidades Palace, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola, and UNITA president Jonas Savimbi will formally sign the pact known as the Estoril Agreement.

On 1 May the leaders of the two negotiating teams placed their initials on each of the document's 57 pages. It will

take effect immediately upon the swearing in of the CCPM which is to supervise the entire transition period. The body is committed to following the recommendation of the Portuguese mediators and other observers that elections be held in September 1992.

Among those with roles in the ceremony—to be held before an assembly of dignitaries—and in the mediation process are Prime Minister Cavaco Silva and Foreign Minister Durao Barroso. Others due to attend are the secretary general of the United Nations, the U.S. secretary of state, the Soviet foreign minister, diplomats posted to Lisbon, and a representative of the Organization of African Unity.

The parts of the Estoril Agreement disclosed by PUBLICO a month ago were the cease-fire agreement, a set of fundamental principles for peace in Angola, and guidelines for resolving outstanding differences between the Angolan government and UNITA.

Today PUBLICO releases the main points of the fourth document, the so-called Estoril Protocol.

#### Elections

1. Elections will be held in Angola to select the president of the republic and members of the National Assembly. The decision as to whether these elections should take place at the same time or at different times will be made in consultation with all political forces in the country.
2. The president will be elected by majority vote with direct suffrage and secret balloting. There will be a second round of voting if necessary.
3. Election to the National Assembly will be by direct suffrage and secret ballot through a system of proportional representation at the national level.
4. The elections will be preceded by an official campaign period whose length will be decided in consultation with all Angolan political forces. The expert opinions of such specialized international bodies as the United Nations on the desirable length of the Angolan election campaign may be solicited but will not be binding on any of the parties.
5. All adult citizens of Angola are entitled to vote, take part in electoral campaigns, or run for office without any threat of discrimination or intimidation. The election law to be drafted following a cease-fire and consultation among the RPA [People's Republic of Angola] government and all Angolan political forces will determine the age of adulthood for purposes of voting.
6. The vote will be secret with special arrangements for those unable to read or write. Appropriate provisions will be included in the election law to be drafted following a cease-fire and in consultation with the RPA government and all Angolan political forces.

7. All political parties and interested persons will have the opportunity to organize and participate in the electoral process on an equitable basis without regard for their political views.

8. Total freedom of expression, association, and access to mass public communications media will be guaranteed.

9. All parties agree to the tripartite proposal of the delegations of Portugal, as mediator, and of the United States and the Soviet Union, as observers. The proposal calls for free and fair elections to be held in Angola between 1 September and 30 November, 1992, following the cease-fire signed in May 1991. The parties reached the understanding that talks on the exact date of the elections will include consideration of the following tripartite declaration:

"Considering the logistic difficulties of organizing the electoral process—most notably that elections can best be held during the dry season—and considering the need to reduce the high cost to the international community of overseeing the cease-fire, the delegations of Portugal, the United States, and the Soviet Union strongly recommend that the elections take place during the first part of the suggested period, preferably between 1 September and 1 October, 1992.

#### **Joint Political-Military Commission**

1. The guidelines for resolving outstanding issues between the RPA government and UNITA and Appendix I of the document Fundamental Principles for Peace in Angola define the mission of the CCPM. It is to exercise global political control of the cease-fire process and oversee the peace accords in order to guarantee strict observance of all political and military understandings. In the event of violations, it will be up to the CCPM to decide how conflicts should be resolved.

2. The CCPM will have the powers necessary to approve all measures governing its own internal functions. Its decisions will take effect by consensus between the RPA government and UNITA after hearing the views of the observers.

It is not the aim of the CCPM to replace the RPA government.

3. On the basis of the above, the CCPM is to be headquartered in Luanda and structured to:

3.1 Guarantee peaceful conditions for the holding of free, fair, multiparty, and internationally verifiable elections;

3.2 Support the carrying out of all political understandings in the peace accords concerning elections;

3.3 Supervise implementation of the cease-fire agreement under the CMVF [Mixed Commission for Cease-Fire Verification and Inspection] and cooperation with representatives of the United Nations;

3.4 Assess possible threats to the country's territorial integrity; and

3.5 Take up matters concerning exiled Angolans within its sphere of competence.

4. The CCPM begins functioning upon the signing of the cease-fire agreement.

5. The CCPM will be made up of representatives of the RPA government and UNITA, as members, and representatives of Portugal, the United States, and the Soviet Union, as observers. United Nations representation will be by invitation.

5.1 Members and observers will designate aids and technical experts to advise them in their dealings with:

a) the CMVF;

b) the Joint Commission on the Formation of the Angolan Armed Forces; and

c) the political commission.

6. The RPA government and UNITA will chair CCPM meetings on a rotating basis with no effect on the principle of decisionmaking by consensus.

7. It will be up to the CCPM to determine its own internal regulations and budget.

8. The mandate of the CCPM ends upon the swearing in of an elected government.

#### **UNITA Political Rights**

1. The guidelines for resolving issues still outstanding between the RPA government and UNITA as well as the fundamental principles for peace in Angola take effect upon the signing of a cease-fire. Under their provisions UNITA is entitled to conduct and participate freely in political activities. It gains these rights under the revised constitution and laws pertaining to the creation of multiparty democracy. The following are specifically provided for:

a) freedom of expression;

b) the right to display, publish and freely debate its political program;

c) the right to recruit and enroll members;

d) the right to hold meetings and demonstrations;

e) the right of access to government-run public media;

f) the right of its members to personal security and freedom of movement;

g) the right to field candidates for election; and

h) the right to open headquarters and offices nationwide.

2. Without jeopardizing these rights or their immediate use, UNITA will—upon the signing of a cease-fire—be required to register as a political party under the RPA's Law of Political Parties.

**Administrative Structures**

1. Both sides accept in principle that central administrative control should extend to areas currently beyond its reach.
2. Both sides recognize that this outreach should not be abrupt nor should it restrict the free movement of persons and goods, the activity of political forces, or the completion of tasks related to the electoral process.
3. Both sides agree to postpone study of how outreach should occur. It will be up to the CCPM to carry out this task through competent teams composed of RPA and UNITA representatives with support from international advisers.

**Formation of the Angolan Armed Forces****A. Identification and general principles**

Whereas the peace process between the RPA government and UNITA stipulates the need for armed forces, the two sides agree to:

1. To creation of the Angolan Armed Forces
2. The Angolan Armed Forces will:
  - a) have as a general mission the safeguarding of independence and territorial integrity;
  - b) be able under the law to carry out other missions in the general interest on behalf of the government or take part in tasks related to the satisfaction of basic needs or improving the quality of life of the people without prejudice to their general mission;
  - c) be composed exclusively of Angolan citizens within a single nationwide organizational structure;
  - d) have the organization, senior command structure, human and material resources, and equipment needed to meet foreseeable external threats and respond to internal socioeconomic conditions;
  - e) be nonpartisan and obedient to competent sovereign authorities under the principle of subordination to political power; and
  - f) publicly promise to uphold the constitution and other laws of the republic.
3. Military personnel on active duty will have the right to vote but will be unable to use their status or the structures of the Angolan Armed Forces on behalf of any partisan political or labor group.
4. The process of forming the Armed Forces will begin when the cease-fire takes effect and end on the date of the election.
5. The process of forming the Armed Forces should be simultaneous with locating, disarming, and integrating into civilian life forces undergoing progressive demobilization as a result of the cease-fire.
6. Recruitment for the Angolan Armed Forces in the period before the elections should be voluntary and should draw on FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the

Liberation of Angola] and FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] personnel.

7. All personnel inducted into the Angolan Armed Forces prior to the elections will be required to attend professional training courses. It will be the goal of these courses to foster doctrinal and procedural unification and the indispensable esprit de corps.

8. The Angolan sides in cooperation with the CCPM and the Joint Commission on the Formation of the Armed Forces will guarantee the neutrality of the Armed Forces in the period before the elections.

9. Once elections have been held, the Angolan Armed Forces will stand alone, and no other military forces will remain in existence. Elements of the present armed forces of each side that do not become part of the Angolan Armed Forces will be disbanded once elections are held.

10. The two sides agree that individual rights acquired by members of the Angolan Armed Forces before the elections should continue to be guaranteed. The structures created in this period should be preserved and consolidated within the Armed Forces.

11. Training within the FAA [Angolan Armed Forces] should begin at the platoon level.

**B. Troop levels**

1. The sides agree on FAA preelection troop levels of 40,000 for the army, 6,000 for the air force, and 4,000 for the navy.

2. This arrangement calls for an army of 15,000 ground troops to be divided as follows: 7,200 for the military regions; 4,800 for general reserve units; and 3,000 for special forces. The army also gets 15,000 soldiers for support and administrative services, 6,000 sergeants, and 4,000 officers.

3. The personnel commitment of each side to the army is 20,000: 15,000 soldiers (including 7,500 ground troops); 3,000 sergeants; and 2,000 officers.

4. Initial air force and naval personnel will all come from appropriate FAPLA units since FALA lacks these services. After the process of FAA organization is under way, UNITA will be able to participate in structuring the air force and navy on terms to be established through the CCFA [Joint Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces].

5. Navy and air force activities will be subject to verification and inspection, but this will not interfere with limited missions to assure operational effectiveness and the defense of economic interests. When the two branches become part of the FAA, they will be subordinate to the FAA high command.

**C. Command Structure of the Angolan Armed Forces****1. General principles**

a) The Joint Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces (CCFA) was created within the CCPM specifically to direct the organization of the FAA.

b) The FAA command structure is made up of FAA High Command and the commands of the three services (army, air force, and navy).

c) The entire FAA command structure will be drawn from the FAPLA and FALA during its formative stages. However, it will remain strictly nonpartisan and take orders only from the CCPM, the CCFA, and through the FAA chain of command.

d) The CCFA will nominate candidates for the FAA High Command and the three service commands subject to the approval of the CCPM.

e) The FAA will share a joint logistic structure, and a Logistics and Infrastructure Command has been organized under the FAA High Command to provide it.

## 2. The Joint Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces

a) The CCFA is a transitional body directly dependent upon the CCPM. Prior to the elections, it is supposed to be the liaison between the political-military structure and the FAA structure.

b) The CCFA is made up of FAPLA and FALA representatives assisted by representatives of the country or countries selected to provide advice on FAA organization.

c) Among the functions assigned to the CCFA by the CPLM are the following: propose insignia to be used by the FAA until the elections; conduct strategic planning until the elections; set guidelines for selecting FAPLA and FALA personnel to join the FAA; prepare lists of prospective FAA commanders through the brigade level for submission to the CCPM; prepare schedules for putting FAA structures in place.

## D. Foreign technical assistance

When the sides notify the Portuguese government of their acceptance of the accords, the will also inform it of the country or countries to be invited to provide assistance in the formation of the FAA.

## E. Demobilization

The accommodation of demobilized forces is a national problem. It should undergo study by the two sides, and the findings should be submitted to the CCPM for evaluation and resolution. The same approach should be taken to the problems of those maimed by the war.

## \* UNITA-FAPLA Meeting in Luena Detailed

91AF1151A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese  
25 May 91 pp 36R-40R

[Article by Benjamim Formigo]

[Text] Luena—Two hours of talks last Saturday between the operations commander of the government army, Colonel Higino Carneiro, and the chief of the general

staff of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], General Ben Ben, sufficed to establish the mechanisms which will prevent further incidents and a further escalation of the war in Angola until the international observers arrive.

The official cessation of hostilities, which became effective at zero hours on 16 May, was not enough to bring the conflict to an end. Isolated incidents occurred more or less everywhere in the country, in the region of Luena, in particular, where in the words of General Ben Ben, chief of the general staff of the UNITA, there was "an explosive situation."

For 45 days and 45 nights, the population of the old city of Luso, the capital of the province of Moxico, endured daily UNITA artillery attacks. The positions of the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] (the government army) were frequently attacked, just as the UNITA positions were frequently subjected to government artillery fire and air attacks.

More than once, the artillery shelling was followed by infantry battles. No one knows exactly how many soldiers died in these battles. Each side has released a figure, but the casualties certainly total more than a thousand.

"Many people died. We had to kill many men, and this is a sad thing," Major Derramo, a young man of 24 in command of the 4,500 men who guarantee the security of the north bank of the Luena River, commented bitterly.

The hospital in the city began to be disrupted. "We did not have antibiotics we could inject, we did not have analgesics, and the wounded began to pile up," Captain Pedro, one of the three doctors in Luena, explained to us. On the 14th, the arrival in the city of a column of 124 vehicles which had started out from Saurimo served to alleviate this pressure. The vehicles carried medicines and food, but also new ammunition, more men, and more fuel.

"If the column had not come, the situation would have been difficult, but not desperate," Colonel Neco, 41, the commander on the East Front told us. A veteran of the war, Colonel Neco distributed his military reserves throughout the city. "We learned a great deal from the Gulf War. It was not easy to catch us unprepared. We still had ammunition for another 45 days, and we had everything prepared so that if the column from Saurimo did not arrive, we could move to new positions and take control of the cassava fields. We would have had to change our diet, but we would not have been doomed to die of hunger."

The column from Saurimo, commanded by another legendary figure in the Angolan war, Major Ngola, had to clear a path, dealing not only with the UNITA ambushes but with its artillery as well. Twelve vehicles were lost. It took two days of combat for the FAPLA to force the UNITA out of Dala and to establish a movable bridge

which could be used for transit. Colonel Helder, director of the engineering branch, was there for this purpose. A lanky man 2 meters tall, the colonel was not in the rear guard, but on the combat front, to reestablish transport routes. Moreover, in this Luena operation, both sides committed the best of their command capacity.

On the other hand, the UNITA as well dispatched its legendary figures to Moxico—General Ben Ben was in command of the operations. General Canjundo was in charge of the assault on Luena, and Lieutenant Colonel Mutu Yakevela managed to infiltrate his Fifth Battalion, with about 300 men, through the defensive lines of the FAPLA, as far as Canjundo, just a few kilometers from the city. However, this movement was detected. Even during the cease-fire period, Mutu Yakevela was infiltrating more men along the river, but his unit had already been completely surrounded by FAPLA troops.

On the night of 15-16 May, many of the UNITA units moved in close to the positions of the government troops. At a given moment on the 16th, the commanders of the various government units began to pressure the commander on the East Front to give the order to attack the UNITA positions. The situation became increasingly difficult, and in Luena, Colonel Higino Carneiro, in command of the FAPLA operations, and Colonel Neco, in command on the East Front, as well as the other command officers, repeated the same order incessantly: "Wait! Hold your fire. And if they (the UNITA) fire, do not return fire without our authorization."

#### The World As Witness

On the other side of the lines, two journalists, Luisa Ribeiro, the Lusa correspondent in Luanda, and William Tonet, an Angolan correspondent for the Voice of America, exchanged impressions with General Ben Ben. In Luena, the EXPRESSO reporter, the RTP [Portuguese Radio-Television System] correspondent, Carlos Albuquerque; and the correspondent for the Mozambican AIM agency were with the government forces command. "Let us hope that you can stay here until the 31st, when the Joint Political-Military Commission and the Commission for Verification of the Cease-Fire begin their work, with foreign observers," a high official in the Luena command said. "As long as you are in the zone, there will be no violations," he explained.

That same day, using the small broadcasting facility of the Angola National Radio correspondent, EXPRESSO and the RTP made contact with the UNITA command. Beside us, Colonel Higino and Colonel Neco followed the dialogue. At our suggestion, Brigadier General Grado of the UNITA sent a conciliatory message to the two FAPLA officers. Shortly afterward, when the RTP correspondent made contact with the Voice of America representative who was with the UNITA, the dispatch of another message, also conciliatory, from Colonel Higino to General Ben Ben was agreed upon.

But at the end of that afternoon, the news reaching the bunker where the general staff for the East Front was

situated began to erode the morning's optimism. The UNITA forces were getting too close to the FAPLA troops. There were reports of military movements. Some firing was heard in the distance, as well as some explosions which were thought to be mines.

That morning, an FAPLA patrol had come upon a group of 30 UNITA men who said they were unaware of Savimbi's order to cease hostilities, which had been carried repeatedly over the VORGA, the movement's radio network. No battle resulted from the encounter, and the government officer merely announced that a cease-fire had entered into effect, advising the rebel group to leave the area and suggesting a route for their departure.

At the end of the afternoon, it was established that this group had not left the area, but had rallied in Sangondo, a few kilometers from Luena, near the river. A first talk between the FAPLA officer and the captain commanding the group was unproductive. The UNITA officer would not withdraw "until higher orders are received." Other government units, moreover, reported enemy movements in their areas.

Colonel Higino then informed Luanda of what was happening and was given the green light to act as the situation in the field dictated. The decision the commander of operations made was to wait and see.

Thus the night of 16-17 May was a tense one. There was a sense that a decisive period was beginning. "The cease-fire and the peace will be decided here in Luena. Everything that is happening in the rest of the country is being reflected here, where the troops are closest together, with their positions intermingled, in some cases. And what happens here will be reflected in the rest of the country," one of the general staff officers on the East Front told us.

However, on the evening before the cease-fire went into effect, the atmosphere in the command bunker was rather relaxed, because the day had passed calmly, and because of the news received as night fell. On the night of 16-17 May, however, concern could be seen on the faces of the government army men. The mistrust between the two sides was well-known. The conciliatory statements and the guarantees that there would be no further hostilities reiterated over the radio by the UNITA's Brigadier General Grado had failed to pacify the soldiers' minds.

But the curious aspect of this whole situation was the reaction in the streets of the city. The day before, when the cease-fire went into effect, the people in Luena poured into the streets, leaving the city and proceeding as far as the river. Hundreds of people were moving along the northern road, having abandoned the places where they had sought shelter, some seeking to return to their quimbos (settlements). Two cousins who lived a few hundred meters apart ran to embrace each other. They had not seen each other for 45 days because of the artillery fire.

On the 17th, however, the atmosphere was palpably tense, although the UNITA had not launched any attack. The two journalists who had been on the other side with General Ben Ben—Luisa Ribeiro and William Tonet—returned with reports of appeasing statements made by the UNITA commander. However, no one but the military leaders and the Portuguese and Mozambican journalists, who were literally pushed into the role of witnesses at the final point in the process of the war, knew of them. But there was something indefinable in the air, and it was reflected in the behavior of the people.

Late on the morning of the 17th, the one Mozambican and three Portuguese journalists left Luena, together with two FAPLA officers, to meet with the Fifth UNITA Battalion in Sangondo.

The jeep halted in the outskirts of the city, and we began an hour's trek along a trail. We passed abandoned settlements where craters caused by artillery shells were visible. The fields were abandoned. Except for our column, there was no one to be seen. During a long pause near Sangondo, as we waited for the two FAPLA officers to meet the leaders of the UNITA troops, a woman with an infant on her back and firewood on her head walked through the abandoned settlement. She was bound for the city, where almost everyone has sought shelter. Others fled, as soon as the fighting began, in the direction of Zambia, 300 or 400 km away, or toward Saurimo. Only one old man had remained in the settlement. He did not want to leave his house, and there he remained during the 45 days the war in Luena lasted. Finally, we set off again toward the position of the Fifth Battalion of the UNITA.

#### Journalist-Mediators

While our group talked with Colonel Mutu Yakevela, the Fifth UNITA Battalion commander who had arrived at the site during the night, the Angolan journalist, William Tonet, managed to make radio contact at another location with the chief of the general staff of the UNITA, General Ben Ben.

We, for our part, had Lt Col Mutu Yakevela facing Major Venceremos of the FAPLA, in a situation characterized by the risk of incidents. Two simultaneous interviews were held, with the same questions being asked in both. The answers of each interlocutor were presented to the other, and little by little, not only did the tension relax, but each of the two proceeded to assure the other that there was no intention of initiating hostilities again.

As we reported last week, Mutu Yakevela insisted that his unit had reached that site on the 12th, and that it only "failed to occupy the general headquarters of the FAPLA because of the fear that there were mines there." And he stressed, moreover, that "the Portuguese mediators were informed on the 12th that we were there, and for this reason we did not have to withdraw." Major Vencermos, for his part, explained the delicacy of the position in which the Fifth Battalion found itself, and the danger

that there might be clashes. When the UNITA commander was questioned, he told us that "now that there has been this talk, we will be able to resolve the problem if there is any incident." Sometime later, Yakevela assured us that he would not attempt to expand his position, and he emphasized that the FAPLA patrols could pass along the trail without interference from his men.

When the meeting ended, William Tonet suggested that the officers on both sides meet again with the foreign journalists present, so that they could bear witness to the dialogue held with the representative of General Ben Ben. The Angolan journalist had previously made contact with the chief of the general staff of the UNITA to ask him to come to Sandongo and renew contact with Mutu Yakevela there.

Then the points Colonel Higino regarded as essential in order to guarantee consolidation of the truce were communicated to General Ben Ben. Pursuant to the Estoril Accords, the troops were to be separated by a distance of between 8 and 10 km. The UNITA people, through General Canjundo, refused to respond to this recommendation, claiming that at the time they did not have the text of the agreements, but guaranteeing, at the same time, that the battalion would not move from its position.

The FAPLA offer to supply food and medicines to the UNITA troops should they be needed was declined with thanks and "cordially acknowledged." The principle of regular contact between the two parties was agreed upon at the meeting on the following day, as was contact on the high-command level. Agreement was also reached on the four daily flights of the C-130 aircraft to be allowed to take supplies to the civilian population, provided that the FAPLA "gives notice of the type of aircraft being used, the schedule, and the nature of the cargo." An agreement was also reached on a mutual exchange of information about troop movements.

Since radio contact had been established with General Canjundo, not General Ben Ben, it was agreed that the latter would subsequently provide his coordinates, so as to make direct dialogue possible between the high commands of the two forces.

Only after this meeting did the tension relax, and the news of the meeting in Sangondo was joyfully received at the general headquarters on the East Front.

#### Commanders' Meeting

Colonel Higino was in Saurimo, 300 km north of Luena, early on the night of the 17th, when a communication from General Ben Ben was received asking for a face-to-face meeting with the operations commander of the FAPLA.

It was 0600 on the 18th when three MI-17s (Soviet-manufactured helicopters derived from the MI-8 model) left Saurimo for Luena. As was the case earlier, the

helicopters flew low over the tree tops, but this time the route was a direct one, with no effort being made to avoid possible contact with the UNITA, and Major Cimy, the commander of the helicopter squadron, was able to land at the Luena base.

The first talk between the belligerent parties that day took place at 0720. Higino Carneiro proposed that a government air force helicopter be sent to take General Ben Ben to a meeting on the Cassondo River. Ben Ben declined the offer, saying that his commanders were "too scattered" to be picked up by helicopter.

But a meeting was agreed upon for 1100. Each of the delegations would include five officers and would be accompanied by an escort of 10 armed men. Each side could also have a small detachment stationed some kilometers away from the meeting point, on the southern bank of the river.

There was no lack of FAPLA volunteers for the escort party. Everyone wanted to witness the historic moment when, for the first time, the two commanders would meet and discuss the future of the peace and the war. The same was the case on the UNITA side, we were told on reaching the site.

The caravan of three jeeps and a truck carrying troops set off from Luena, heading north. About 10 kilometers beyond the partially destroyed bridge over the Luena River, the FAPLA convoy turned off the road onto a trail leading westward. Very soon, Colonel Higino had to stop and order some government soldiers to turn back. Unarmed, they proceeded toward the city to "see their families."

Meanwhile, some unarmed UNITA soldiers had also entered Luena, where they found brothers and other relatives and now were unwilling to leave. This was a situation, developing despite the agreement reached among Angolans, which presented some risks. Colonel Higino was to raise this question later at the meeting with Ben Ben, explaining that "they find their families, they celebrate, they raise a few glasses in celebration, and often, resentments which can lead to incidents begin to develop." This was a statement with which Ben Ben agreed.

Finally, the minicolumn stopped near a group of citizens, who watched, astonished, as FAPLA officers approached and exchanged cordial greetings with the escort dispatched by the UNITA to accompany them to the meeting site. Another factor contributing to optimism was that Colonel Higino had put on the truck, in addition to the table and chairs needed for the meeting, a bottle of Portuguese sparkling wine.

William Tonet was already at the riverbank, from which he watched the column approach. Then it was the journalists' turn to move forward and cross the river, accompanied only by the soldiers who were bringing the tables and chairs. There, on the other side, was the government delegation.

We were welcomed by General Canjundo, a former Portuguese Army officer and now commander of operations in the Luena area. The table was placed so that none of the delegates had to face the sun. Although the site was in the heart of the bush and on uneven ground, there were, fortunately, chairs of different heights so that the two military commanders could face each other on a basis of equality.

The meeting did not begin, however, until 1248, an hour and a half after it had been scheduled. General Ben Ben made his excuses for the delay, and thanked Colonel Higino for having waited in order to meet with him. The two men had an extremely cordial talk lasting an hour and a half about the mechanisms which, without interfering with the decisions adopted in Estoril, could fill the gap of 13 days prior to the arrival of the international observers. The measures agreed upon included two daily meetings between the local commanders, Colonel Sanjaro and General Canjundo. Ben Ben provided Higino Carneiro with a telephone number so that there could be a satellite "hotline" between the two commands to prevent possible critical situations. The two delegations further decided not to issue military communiques concerning any future "temporary and sporadic incidents, which should be resolved through concerted action" on the part of the two commands, according to the minutes of the meeting.

The dispatch of a column of more than 200 vehicles from Luanda to supply the population of Moxico was taken under study. Similarly, both sides promised to undertake a study of unrestricted highway and railroad traffic throughout the country "with the best goodwill."

Colonel Neco, the commander on the East Front who resisted the UNITA attacks for 45 days, had already returned to his family in Luanda and was not at the meeting.

Finally, confidence seems to have been established.

#### \* FAPLA-UNITA Meeting in Waku Kungo

##### \* Meeting Described

91AF1149A *Lisbon PUBLICO* in Portuguese  
25 May 91 p 32

[Article by Jose Fragoso in Waku Kungo, Kwanza-Sul]

[Text] A military delegation from the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], the Angolan Government Army, met yesterday with officials from UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] in Waku Kungo (Cela, in colonial times) in the province of Kwanza-Sul, 500 km from Luanda, the only city conquered by UNITA in 16 years of war. The final battle in the area of the southern front took place on the 14th, one day before the cease-fire. UNITA entered the city virtually without resistance from the FAPLA forces. Recovery of the city was impossible, since the cease-fire

had just become effective. The two military commissions, headed respectively by Lieutenant Colonel Jose Nogueira "Ze Grande" (MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]) and Colonel Adriano Mutuashila, said that this means that "we shall fight for our territory" in cooperation with each other (UNITA). The officers of the two armies agreed to pool their efforts in handling situations relating to supplies needed by the city and to do this by highway transportation without having the caravans attacked or impeded in any way; they also agreed to minesweep certain critical points, as in the case of tertiary roads. Held in abeyance was the return to the city of MPLA's provincial authorities who had fled to the jungle on the day of the attacks. The MPLA wants the municipal commissioner to take over that position, but UNITA, the military occupant of Waku Kungo, has not yet given an answer. If the commissioner agrees to return, we would have an unprecedented situation in this city: civil authority belonging to the MPLA and the military contingent living side by side with UNITA. Waku Kungo has about 10,000 inhabitants in the urban area, nearly all having fled to the jungle. The 215 Portuguese who live in the city (priests, nuns, a professor, and a few farmers) had no ill effects from the attack on the city.

(Meanwhile, journalist William Tonnet, associated with the Voice of America, is continuing to operate in the Mavinga area side by side with the UNITA troops in a humanitarian mission aimed at obtaining the release of a number of Catholic missionaries. Mavinga is the area in which UNITA Gen. Jose Nogueira Cadjungo formerly lived; Gen. Jose Nogueira died Wednesday at Cassongo River near Luena after accidentally stepping on a mine. Jose Cadjungo was UNITA's commander for about a month in Luena.)

#### \* UNITA Occupation

91AF1149B Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese  
26 May 91 p 20

[Article by Jose Fragoso]

[Text] After 11 days of total isolation from the exterior, Waku Kungo (Cela in colonial times), located in Kwanza-Sul Province, about 500 km from Luanda, was the scene last Friday of another meeting among officers of the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] (MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]) and FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] (UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]), to resolve problems relating to the supply of food and other commodities to the people and the elimination of mines in Frente Sul.

Although these meetings between the officers of the Government Army and rebels had become a routine matter after the cease-fire accord of the 15th, this meeting in Waku Kungo had a special significance, since

this is the only city in the country which, after the silence of the weaponry, found themselves in the power of the Savimbi troops.

Thus, the FAPLA military delegation, headed by Lieutenant Colonel Jose Caetano, known as "Ze Grande" due to his large stature, had to travel by helicopter from Luanda, cross "the enemy lines," and land at the Waku Kungo airport (totally destroyed by the fighting), where it met up with a rebel military force awaiting the Luanda officers.

The newspaper people, who were accompanying the FAPLA delegation, attended the initial exchange of compliments between the officers of the two sides, marked by a mutual lack of confidence in the beginning. After this, the UNITA officers conducted us to the Cela Velha hospital, no longer in operation, at about 3 km from the Waku Kungo municipal airport, where we met Colonel Adriano Mutuachile, commander of the UNITA troops in the area, where a closed-door meeting among the officers took place.

This city in Kwanza-Sul Province was taken by the rebels precisely on the 14th, on the eve of the cease-fire. The combat lasted only 30 minutes, and there were no deaths among the military, due to the weak opposition offered by the FAPLA. The Government Army was forced to flee to the jungle area around the city, and its flight was followed by nearly all of the 10,000 Waku Kungo inhabitants, Waku Kungo being transformed into a ghost town.

In view of the initiation of the cease-fire, it was not possible for the Luanda Army to take any steps to restore the city, where there were still about 2,000 UNITA soldiers.

Despite FALA's Col. Mutuachile's having assured the journalists that no buildings had been destroyed in the city after the occupation, PUBLICO learned from local sources that several buildings had been dynamited after the 15th, particularly the installations of the local commissariat, those of TAAG (Angolan Airlines), and those of the financial sector. On Thursday, the day prior to the visit of the FAPLA officers, two heavy explosions were reported, purportedly caused by UNITA soldiers and involving the vault of the city bank, the intention being to crack the safe.

#### A Rally After the Occupation

After occupying the city, UNITA organized a rally last Sunday attended by about 5,000 people, mostly Waku Kungo inhabitants, still shaken by the fighting. During the rally a UNITA officer tried to convince the people in the city's outlying districts to return to their homes, stressing that the people who lived in the center of the city could not return until "later."

Some of the participants in the rally told PUBLICO that the UNITA officer made no negative reference to the

MPLA and that, several times, he had said that the war had ended and that "it was now time to establish peace."

Together with the people, Waku Kungo's provincial authorities had to take refuge in the jungle and flee to another locality, Ombembua, at a distance of 25 km. The city now contained only the occupants of the local mission, made up of four priests and six nuns, all dominicans, (three of whom traveled to Luanda with the FAPLA).

Jose Nunes, a Portuguese priest 34 years of age, told PUBLICO that the clergy had no problem with the UNITA forces. "Only the risks incurred in the fighting with the FAPLA. Although it happened quickly, our building (housing the priests) was hit 39 times by stray bullets."

The current problem is that of supplying the people with necessities and combating cholera—four to five deaths every day, mainly children, from what we were told. At the meeting between the officers of the two armies, it was ascertained that the two parties would permit free movement of the caravans supplying food to the city and that any mines discovered on access roads would be deactivated immediately.

Unfortunately, this has been one of the principal concerns in the meetings between the two military organizations, since the number of mines placed on the land, mostly on streets and highways, has represented a constant threat to the security of the people. The military of both sides have often referred to the mines as being one of the most difficult problems to resolve on an immediate basis, since many of them are located in nonidentifiable places. "Not even the people who placed them there remember their location," said the officers. A proof of this situation is the fact that just this week a UNITA general and two other superior officers of the FALA activated an explosive located in the area and were killed near Luena.

### UNITA Mobilizes Eco Negro

To call attention to the capture of the only city in its power, UNITA brought from Jamba, together with its troops, one of the musical groups operating in the area occupied by the guerrillas: the Echo Negro [Black Echo]. Upon the arrival of the FAPLA officers and the journalists, the musicians played several songs accompanied by two groups of men and women who greeted the visitors with African dances.

The walls of Cela Velha hospital were completely painted in red letters with inscriptions such as "Long Life to Comrade Savimbi," "Long Live the Unity of the Angolan People," or "Savimbi Is Our Leader," similar slogans to those spread everywhere in Jamba.

Questioned on the motive which caused FALA to engage Waku Kungo in military action on the eve of the cease-fire, Gen. Mutuachile said only that it had been for "strategic reasons" and that, for UNITA, "it was very

important to capture a city." Until the arrival of international control organizations, scheduled for the beginning of next month, the UNITA military "will not abandon the city."

For the moment, it is not decided whether the civil authorities (those appointed by the government) may or may not return to the city. "We must receive orders from our headquarters," said the rebel commander, "and then we shall decide." A possible return of the municipal commissioner to the locality could force this political figure, appointed by the MFLA, to live in harmony with the UNITA officers.

### \* Daniel Chipenda Discusses Political Prospects

91AF1145A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA (Second Section Supplement) in Portuguese  
19 May 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola official Daniel Chipenda by Aguiar dos Santos, Mario Campos, and Luis Costa: "Democracy Does Not Mean Bitterness or Vengeance;" place and date not given]

[Text] The progress toward democratic transition which is underway will inevitably bring new figures to the fore on the Angolan political scene. These will be individuals who have previously been protected, some more than others, from the winds of intolerance, the persecution, and the many sorts of afflictions caused by the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship" which has prevailed in the country for the past 16 years.

Along with those who will now attempt their first political steps in the full light of day, this stage will see the resurgence of leaders "steamrollered" by the process which they also helped to initiate.

Today JORNAL DE ANGOLA is offering an interview with a leading personality who, on his own merit, is among the forerunners of national liberation.

He fought in the Angolan brush against the colonial army. He was elevated to high leadership positions in the structure of one of the liberation movements, the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]. He came to disagree with its board of officers. Forced out, he rejected an exile in the desert, and sought alliances with other forces. They were ephemeral, soon collapsed, and sent him back to the inhospitable desert.

Twenty-five years after his involvement in the nationalist saga, and 11 years after independence was won—this is how long it has taken this man to cover the path to Luanda. Dear readers, we present to you Daniel Julio Chipenda.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Is there any subject on which you would not like to comment?

[Chipenda] I will discuss anything.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] As a diplomat, have you undertaken any major action in connection with Angolan foreign policy as yet?

[Chipenda] I went to South Africa and established a bridge, in the period before the New York agreements were reached.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] You had discreet dealings with the former Buffalo Battalion.

[Chipenda] In fact, I did. And if there had really been trust, they would now have been here with us. Had this been the case, they would now have been participants in the creation of the single national army.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] The troops of the Buffalo Battalion are now on the frontier between South Africa and Namibia....

[Chipenda] Yes. In 1976, the South Africans made contact with me, or more accurately, with Brigadier Peter, to make the following proposal: Chipenda would take control of the FNLA [Angolan National Liberation Front]. They would take Holden Roberto to Tunisia, because he was a very good friend of Bourguiba. Logistic support in the North sector would be provided to me by the French, through Zaire, while Prime Minister Chirac was in office, and in the South sector, by the South Africans. I said no. This would not be the way to find a peaceful solution to the Angolan problem. But no one understood.

The FNLA was a tribal movement, and I only engaged in an alliance with it when I had exhausted every possibility available to me in the search for a solution to the internal problems of the MPLA. In fact, I had the best of the militants, those who fought to the death. The need to engage in an alliance with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] arose for us, when my delegation was attacked in Luanda. Because of the identification of a linguistic and ethnic sort, it would have been more natural for us to engage in an alliance with UNITA. I said no, because it was said an alliance with Savimbi would make civil war inevitable. I knew Agostinho Neto well, and had I joined with Savimbi, he would have allied himself with Holden Roberto to fight in the South. There would have been war between the North and the South, as in Biafra. Therefore I opted for an alliance with the FNLA, so that there would be a tactical definition.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] You have already served as vice president of the MPLA, and now you have appeared again as a diplomat. Do you hope to end your political career as an ambassador?

[Chipenda] I think not. When I returned, many people saw me as a competitor, and not as a comrade. They thought I had come in search of this or that post. I need only tell you that the first post offered me by the president was as the administrative head of an oil enterprise. I am not a manager. I am not trained for that.

If this was at the direction of the Political Bureau, they advised the president badly. What would the people who know me say if I accepted? In the end, Chipenda is like the others, he wants money! I am a militant who goes where I am most needed. When I was appointed ambassador, I made it clear that I would go as the representative of the RPA [People's Republic of Angola], and not the MPLA-PT [MPLA—Labor Party]. I asked what the diplomatic strategy would be, in order to have things clear.

I urge the appointment of Angolans on the basis of the competence of each individual, so that each one can fully carry out the duties entrusted to him. If I am being asked if I intend to end up as an ambassador, I would say no. When I played with Benfica, I said that I was a student on loan to soccer. When I joined the Coimbra Academic Association, I said I was a student-player.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] At the most recent MPLA congress, you refused membership in its Central Committee. What happened, in fact? Do you not identify with the current cadre of MPLA leaders?

[Chipenda] This reminds me of a question I was asked some time ago about the characteristics of the leaders I would like to see in charge of the MPLA. I say the MPLA, because it would be good if the PT withdrew. Because it will not lead us to anything. The PT is linked with all of this—the war, corruption, all of this. If in fact there is a desire for change, why would we fail to eliminate the PT? Why would we continue with it?

You will find that when I came, I did so in all humility, which is my special characteristic. I have no bitterness or vengeful feelings. I was the first elected president of the MPLA Youth, but I think it is wrong to say that I fought for it, that I did it, etc., etc. There is no modesty. I do not see any desire for change in this. If we are proceeding toward a multiparty system, we are not going to believe that the solution lies with this or that party. The solution will lie in forging alliances, so that we can in fact establish a consensus. After so many years of war, the Portuguese mediators have persuaded the belligerent parties to sit down at the same table. They have talked and they have reached some agreements. I believe that what is needed is dialogue and consensus. I believe that I can achieve this better as I am, not as a prisoner of the MPLA-PT. It should not be forgotten that I am the number one enemy of Jonas Savimbi. He cannot deal with me. And within the current strategy, a definition of that sort would compromise what I think the interests of the country will be.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Do you regard yourself as a threat to Savimbi?

[Chipenda] I do not know. Some days ago, a group of leaders asked if I would be willing to talk with Jonas. I said that if it would contribute to the happiness of the country and the people, I would be available to talk with anyone. And that I would therefore be ready to talk with Savimbi wherever he might want. And this despite the

fact that Savimbi said some time ago that if there were anyone in Angola with whom he would not talk, it was Chipenda. He believed that there were disagreements of an ethnic sort, a tribal issue. I do not know why, since Savimbi's development was identical to mine. He is as much a university man as I.... Although we are of the same stature, I have never identified myself as a tribal chief.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Savimbi said some months back that he was the representative of the people in the southern part of Angola, and I am quoting exactly a statement I heard on Vorgan. Do you want to comment on that statement?

[Chipenda] Who elected him? He says that the MPLA-PT has no legitimacy, because no one elected it, but now he holds himself up as the representative of the people in the South....

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Haven't these years of absence from the political scene weakened your public image? Isn't this the reason Savimbi says he is the sole representative of the people in the South?

[Chipenda] I was never the representative of any group of people in our country, which includes all of the people from Cabinda to Cunene. I do not deny my origins, but I do not use this as a battle horse. Back in 1974 and 1975, when I visited Benguela and Huambo, I found that UNITA was pointing out that I was white, that I did not speak Umbundo, that I had never succeeded in holding a meeting in that language.... I told them that I did not speak Umbundo in public because not everyone understood it, and that therefore I spoke in the language understood by everyone, which was Portuguese.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] You have invested more than 30 years in this political process. You have said publicly and repeatedly that you do not want to form any party. What will you do in the future?

[Chipenda] The basic thing is that people should know what we are going to do at this crucial time. I would be prepared to engage in an open political debate, in which a common denominator among the active forces in this country could be found....

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Would action undertaken outside the boundaries of the political parties be more forceful?

[Chipenda] To a certain extent yes, at this specific moment.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Is there nothing which identifies you with the MPLA?

[Chipenda] It is difficult for one to eliminate his identification with the MPLA as a movement. As to the Labor Party, there is none!

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Is the issue the appointment or the attitude of its leaders?

[Chipenda] The one depends on the other. I am not challenging the attitude, but rather the whole aspect of the thing. If there were in fact a desire for reform, to go back to the mystique of the MPLA, we would already be seeing a new attitude. But we did not see this at the last congress. I continue to believe that only broad discussions, the adoption of a strategy, can allow us to create a somewhat desirable situation. The reforms are not proceeding at the rate they should. And then we have the mentality of our people, and mentalities do not change overnight. I am fond of saying that there are no bad people, that all of the peoples of the world are good. Their reactions depend above all on their leaders.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] You are regarded in many circles as a born politician. Does this caution of yours about the transition conceal some trump card you have up your sleeve?

[Chipenda] I played soccer, and perhaps for this reason I am proceeding in this way. When we play, we set out to win. We only lose as a result of disaster. When we go onto the field, we do not tell our opponents what we plan. I understand the anxiety many Angolans feel about me. When I organized the flight of our group from Portugal, we boarded the ship, and it was not until we were on the high seas that I gathered everyone together and announced that we were going to Casablanca. Once there, my mission would be ended, as of the moment I put the comrades in the hands of the MPLA leadership.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Who fled with you?

[Chipenda] Franca N'Dalu, Augusto Matos, Germano Araujo, Jika, Carlos Pires, Dr Miranda, Arnaldo (now deceased), my wife, and my son, who at that time had only 12 days to live. Being a native of Sao Tome, my wife devoted herself body and soul to the cause of the MPLA. I am pleased about this, although she has never been recognized for it. My sister-in-law, my nephews, and others also came with me....

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Weren't Bento Ribeiro and Katiana members of your group?

[Chipenda] No. We were divided into several groups. I was responsible for Coimbra, with Katiana and Videira. Joao Vieira Lopes and Kabulo were responsible for Lisbon, and Engineer Paiva and Azevedo for Oporto.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] How did you obtain the money to pay for the flight?

[Chipenda] Funds were obtained from the American Board through my brother, Jose Belo Chipenda. I used this money to charter the boat on which we fled. This was after getting out of prison.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] And then?

[Chipenda] After some time, I was elected president of the MPLA Youth, and then I became the official in charge of the cadres department. It was at that time that study scholarships were arranged for the majority of the

young people who were MPLA militants and had fled from Luanda. This group included Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Loy, Maria Mambo, Envangelina, Santiago, Monteiro, Junqueira, and others, many others.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] We can say, then, that you know all the members of the current political group in the MPLA....

[Chipenda] All of them.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] And what opinion did you develop concerning Hoji Ya Henda?

[Chipenda] He is a great man, a great commander. When he died I was in Dar es Salaam, and I could not understand how a man of his stature could perish in that way. He left a record of the entire battle. It would be good if Angolan young people had access to this document.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Were you in Dar es Salaam at that time on a mission?

[Chipenda] I went there to establish our offices. In 1964, we established the office in Luanda, before independence was won there. Then I was arrested, together with Ciel da Conceicao ("Gato"). The UPA [Union of Angolan Peoples]-FNLA people who were already there went to the British to complain about our presence. As soon as the country had become independent, they released us and urged us to leave the country.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] And did Savimbi go to the MPLA as well?

[Chipenda] Yes. He was in Portugal. It was I who advised him to leave. At that time, he had a professor of physics and chemistry who invited him to give a talk on Angolan ethnography to the Geography Society. He consulted me about it and I advised him not to go, because I suspected that they only wanted to make him seem ridiculous. He did not go, and the professor took it badly. He began to give him failing marks. As Savimbi had a mission scholarship, I advised him to choose another country in which to continue his studies, since his scholarship allowed such a change. In Portugal, they were already watching him. As a result, he went to Switzerland, after leaving Portugal in the normal fashion. I, meanwhile, continued with the MPLA. There was some correspondence. When the war broke out, the missionaries, knowing that Holden Roberto was not known here in Angola, sought to link him with some Angolan personalities. They all went to the FNLA(...).

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] There are those who believe that the MPLA does not have the leadership needed to hinder the UNITA in the South. We have also heard it said that you might agree to a tacit alliance with the MPLA in order to emerge as the leader representing the Center and South regions of Angola. We would ask the question, then, in the following way: Do you agree that

the MPLA has no representative leaders in the Center and South region, and would you agree to be the one to create the bridge?

[Chipenda] I am pleased that others speak about me, but I do not speak about myself. In reality, if there is an individual who could face up to Jonas Savimbi—I have already explained what I think. Now, if the MPLA is planning this or that strategy, I am not privy to these high secrets. What I can say is that Savimbi is a manipulator. We must be prepared to confront this adversary.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Do you agree that factors of a regional or ethnolinguistic nature will influence the inclinations of the voters?

[Chipenda] Without a doubt. We are in Africa. Just a few days ago, I met with some individuals in the South who told me that Savimbi had committed an error in affiliating with the South African racists. And they added the following: "But we are going to do something, although he is our son and we cannot abandon him." However, I believe that these factors must be taken into account, because we are in Africa.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Will the established influence of UNITA in the South and the population density in that region, being what they are, give UNITA the victory?

[Chipenda] I do not think so. In my view, Savimbi lost the voters in Jamba and the zones under his influence. When the people there leave and tell their relatives and friends what happened, Savimbi will be lost. For this reason, he is more interested now in the MPLA voters. He wants to win over the electorate in Luanda, Malanje, and Uije, for example. I have a sister in Jamba who is married to Savimbi's cousin, and I am certain that no one is there of his own free will. Jamba is in captivity. When I was in Portugal, I asked President Jose Eduardo to authorize my return to attend my mother's funeral, and then I left. There were no problems. I cannot say the same for Jamba, because all of my brothers and sisters attended our mother's funeral, with the exception of the sister who lives there. This means that Jamba is in bondage. Our parents were as friendly as siblings, and Savimbi called my mother "aunt," and vice versa....

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] After you fled from Portugal in 1961 to wage the liberation struggle, you returned to Angola, or rather to Luanda, for the first time in 1986 for your mother's funeral. How did your return go?

[Chipenda] Agostinho Neto had already realized in 1978 that we should not continue to fight each other. Before he died, he sent a delegation headed by Mendes de Carvalho to talk with me. Doukui de Castro also came. At that time, a meeting with Neto in Rome was agreed upon for October. But with Neto's premature death, I sent a message to President Eduardo dos Santos in 1981 to explain my idea to him, and to express my regret at the fact that things were not moving forward. I know that the president read this letter to the Political Bureau, in

which I had many opponents, and they did not even let him finish. Many people made my return difficult.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Prior to your return, did you maintain contact with the successive Angolan ambassadors in Lisbon?

[Chipenda] The Angolan ambassadors who came to Portugal never showed me the courtesy of inviting me for even a word of conversation. Franca Van-Dunem, who was in Portugal for a number of years, never invited me to the embassy. And he knew me well, but since it was not a personal relationship.... The only exception was Mawete, about whom many people say bad things. He asked me to "come along, old man, so that we can talk," and I did.

It was later that the president appointed Kito and Toca. It happened that the time when they arrived in Rome intending to issue an invitation to me coincided with the death of my mother. There was a certain mistrust, for which reason the individuals appointed to make contact with me were carefully chosen. I knew them very well. My family was almost unwilling to have me come. But I came. I had nothing to fear. I arrived, I talked with the president, and my definitive return was arranged.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] What was your view of the agreements signed in Bicesse? Are you pessimistic about the transition period which will lead the country to its first free elections?

[Chipenda] In connection with this phase, we should congratulate ourselves on the effort made, although since 10 May we have not heard the government make any clear position statement. I heard a statement by Savimbi in which he told his men to put down their weapons and remain vigilant. It concerns me that a civil society which should play an important role in the political discussions, so that the people of Angola can reach agreement, is not being considered. When I hear talk about the single army, and then between the lines I hear it said that the leaders of UNITA and the MPLA will be protected by their men, this worries me. It seems to me that we are returning to the 1974-1975 era. It feels it is important that the government and the CC [Central Committee] of the MPLA explain matters to the people, because we are going to embark upon a new phase. I have not had access to the documents, and have only read about them in the press, but it is necessary that there be real respect for the agreements in order for us to be able to live in peace.

When we speak of democracy, it does not mean bitterness or vengeance. The people have been the victims of various abuses, and as I feel responsible for this country, I would like to appeal to everyone for calm. In no way should there be compromise with the criminals or those who are corrupt, but we must divide the struggle into separate parts. If we deal now with the problems of the criminals who must be tried, we will lose the clue to the puzzle. At this time, we must struggle above all to ensure that the transition occurs normally, with a consensus, until we have achieved a state of law, with a president

and a government elected by the people. Then indeed we will be able to see to justice and to put all of the criminals on trial. We will not allow the criminals to enjoy impunity, nor to ask that justice be administered on an individual basis. This would lead to a crisis which no one could control. We will maintain calm and support President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in this period of transition, without any violent disturbances.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Do you share the view that the winner of the elections will come out of the MPLA or UNITA? Or do you believe in the much discussed third way, or third force?

[Chipenda] One cannot make predictions at random. If what you mention occurs, we will be facing an impasse. The MPLA has lost a certain credibility, and must do serious work in order to achieve some comfortable position in this battle (the elections). We have seen that the head of UNITA is planning to wage a campaign in Europe, instead of doing so in Angola. He has lost the electorate at its very base. Savimbi says that the people in Jamba will not depart immediately, but rather, gradually. He is afraid that the people will leave and will be able to say what the truth really is.

In my opinion, UNITA lacks any possibility of success.

My concern is that there is a need to support the patriotic forces, a group which is not mercenary, and is fundamental. With the initiation of political debate in this country, we will find that there are political affinities among various elements in the UNITA, MPLA, ACA [Angolan Civic Association], and the PRD [Democratic Renovation Party] which can lead to a consensus within the near future. And speaking of the third force which could be headed by any Angolan, including President Eduardo dos Santos, it is possible that a leader will emerge, even a young person. We can add the enthusiasm of the young people to the knowledge of the older ones to rebuild the country.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] In the final analysis, are you on "standby," in political terms?

[Chipenda] I am being careful, in overall and situational terms, to ensure that my position is not misdirected along some line. As I have said, I am committed to the president and to encouraging him in this transition. Then we will have an opportunity to see in what direction we should proceed so that the people can find their identity and achieve their cultural and economic development.

#### Politicians Profiled

At the age of 60, Daniel Chipenda's political career entitles him to assess the characteristics of various movements on the Angolan political scene or in the important sectors of national life. Understandably, he declined to voice any opinion about Agostinho Neto, a former comrade in the liberation struggle, but as to the others, the following are his impressions.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos—"He is a rather clearly defined figure, with the bearing of a head of state, but he lacks a proper entourage. I believe that he has been damaged by the characteristics of the system itself and the individuals surrounding him."

Jonas Savimbi—"We have always described him as a manipulator, and I continue to think that the profile he wants to present at this time leaves gaps. When he allied himself with the Portuguese government in order to collaborate with it in the struggle against the MPLA and the FNLA, it was in defense of whom? The people?

"I do not wish to comment on his explanation of his involvement with South Africa, because I have learned that he who will betray once will do so whenever he wishes. Savimbi could only be a good president if Angola were populated solely by the Umbundos...."

Cardinal Alexandre do Nascimento—"I believe that he is a cultivated man who understands the problems of our people. He is a man who understands the role of the Church, among other things because he has had a religious education. We will have to rely on him for the solution of our problems, although in a talk we had, he told me that as a man of the Church, he does not want to be either Richelieu or Abbot Youlu. I hope that when the time comes, he will be able to advise us about the path to be pursued."

Holden Roberto—"He was an important figure in the armed rebellion of our people, but his weakness was that he did not know at the time how to determine who the enemy of the Angolan people was. This led us into a contradictory situation, which was only finally clarified when the MPLA realized that the enemy was not the Portuguese people, but colonialism. It should be pointed out that at that time, Jonas Savimbi was secretary general of the UPA, as well as its foreign minister."

Joaquim Pinto de Andrade—"He is a person I admire, an excellent cadre and intellectual. He has had an extraordinary intellectual education. But the fact is, there was a sad incident which made a great impression on me. After the uprising of the militants in the East in 1974, I invited Dr. Joaquim Pinto de Andrade to preside over a meeting with the combatants in the East, in his capacity as honorary president of the MPLA. When he spoke, he began by saying that 'we are here to fight for your independence and for ours.' Now, a politician cannot, even jokingly, say such a thing. What were those people who had already been at war for many years supposed to conclude? In the end, they were supposed to be fighting for two different kinds of independence."

Manuel dos Santos Lima—"He was the first commander of the Popular Army for the Liberation of Angola (EPLA). The way in which he departed left much to be desired. The commanders were demoralized and did not trust the leadership. As a member of the leadership, he went to the barracks in Brazzaville with the commander. There was an exchange of shots, and Manuel dos Santos

Lima embarked on a ship bound for Kinshasa, and has not been seen to this day. It seems that he is currently teaching abroad."

**\* Swedish Firm Provides Gas Turbine, Generator**

91P40325A *Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA*  
in Portuguese 7 Jun 91 p 3

[Text] The Angolan Government and "Asea Brown Boveri" (ABB) signed a contract in which the Swedish firm will provide a gas turbine and generator for the Angolan Power Station, according to the firm's sources. The turbine and generator, estimated at \$31.5 million, are the first of their kind to be installed in Africa. They will be operational in approximately nine months. The contract was signed with "ABB Power Plants" which will use its Portuguese subsidiary to provide the necessary maintenance to the equipment in Luanda.

According to AGENCIE FRANCE-PRESS in Lisbon, prior to this contract, "ABB-Service" had already received a \$1 million order to repair the engines and machines of Luanda Railways. The source commented that the same firm, in conjunction with Portuguese building firms, might build the future installations of the Angolan Telecommunications Institute. The final decision on the contract, which is estimated at \$4.5 million, will be announced soon.

**Lesotho**

**Reassignments of Senior Public Servants Announced**

MB2706195991 *Maseru Radio Lesotho* in English  
1600 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Text] The office of the Military Council has announced reassessments of senior staff in the public service.

Mr. Thabo Makhake, principal secretary for finance, has been transferred to the post of principal secretary for transport and communications. Mr. Percy Mercy Mangaola, principal secretary for transport and communications, has been transferred from the Ministry of Transport and Communications to the post of principal secretary in the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

Mr. Simon Phafane, principal secretary for trade and industry, has been reassigned on secondment from the Ministry of Trade and Industry to the Basotho Enterprise Development Corporation as managing director.

Mr. Tom Tuane, principal secretary for planning, economic affairs, and manpower development, has been transferred to the position of principal secretary for finance.

Mr T. Thokoa, principal secretary for the Ministry of Highlands Water and Energy Affairs, has been transferred to the position of principal secretary in the Ministry of Planning, Economic Affairs, and Manpower Development.

Mr. T. van Tonder, ambassador, Washington DC, has been appointed to succeed Mr. Thokoa as principal secretary for the Ministry of Highlands Water.

These transfers will come into effect on 1 July 1991, except Mr. Van Tonder's, which will take place upon the officer's arrival from his diplomatic mission.

In the meantime, Mr. [name indistinct], deputy principal secretary for the Ministry of Highlands Water, has been appointed to work as principal secretary for the Ministry of Highlands Water and Energy Affairs.

### Madagascar

#### Workers Reportedly Ignore General Strike Call

AB2706201091 Paris AFP in English 1914 GMT  
27 Jun 91

[Text] Antananarivo, June 27 (AFP)—Workers in the Madagascan capital failed Thursday to heed opposition calls for a general strike aimed at pressing demands for the government's resignation, an AFP reporter said. Most stores in Antananarivo were open as usual, and taxis were circulating normally.

Opposition leaders in the Hery Velona coalition (Life-blood Committee) called for the strike at a mass demonstration by more than 100,000 people here Wednesday. Many public and private sector employees took part in a two-day strike last week, launched as part of the opposition's bid to force President Didier Ratsiraka to stand down after 16 years in power.

### Mozambique

#### Government Communiqué Lists Coup Plotters

MB2706180091 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Communiqué issued by the Government of the Republic of Mozambique in Maputo on 27 June]

[Text] On 22 June 1991, a government communiqué announced the discovery of a group, consisting of both military personnel and civilians, which was planning a coup d'état against the Government of the Republic of Mozambique. Whereas it is opportune to publicly announce the group that has been detained for investigations, the following is its composition:

#### Military personnel

Reservist Lieutenant General Jose Moiane; Lieutenant Colonel Cipriano Matias Maluleque; Major Fernando

dos Santos Manhica; Major Alberto Andre Mussavele; Major Osorio Benjamim Andre Pelembe; Major Jose Mutame; Major Belo Amaral Filipe; Captain (Lakio Abilimingo Chambal); Captain (Tomas Gulamo); Albano Bila [no rank as heard]; demobilized Sergeant Mandlate Moises Machel.

#### Civilians

Boaventura Machel; (Estevao Bento Maletilo Manhique); (Jose Mussa Manhane Matavele); and (Beatriz Manuel).

As a result of investigations, Colonel General Sebastiao Marcos Mabote was subsequently detained as one of the main leaders of the coup attempt.

The Government of the Republic of Mozambique reiterates its appeal to all citizens to remain vigilant against those actions which are aimed at preventing efforts to deepen democracy, to achieve a dignified, fair, and lasting peace, and to normalize the lives of all Mozambicans.

[Issued] Maputo, 27 June 1991.

#### 28 Jun Assembly Session Reviews 13 Draft Laws

MB2806085791 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 28 Jun 91

[Report from Maputo's Fourth Congress Hall by Custodio Inacio]

[Text] When he opened the second session of the Assembly of the Republic in Maputo this morning, Chairman Marcelino dos Santos said that the points on the agenda directly relate to the implementation of the freedom and democracy principles President Joaquim Chissano defended in his message to the nation on the occasion of Mozambique's 16th independence anniversary on 25 June.

Marcelino dos Santos noted that preparations for a coup d'état had been uncovered and reaffirmed that such behavior is contrary to the Mozambican Government's and people's efforts to achieve peace, deepen democracy, and resolve this country's economic problems.

The chairman of the Assembly of the Republic said, quote, such an initiative would create division within the Mozambican family, unquote. On behalf of that organ and its members, Marcelino dos Santos expressed words of condemnation for all those implicated in the coup attempt.

A total of 150 deputies have already approved the agenda and program of the meeting, which will now discuss a draft resolution and 13 draft laws.

The proceedings of the assembly session are divided into three stages. First, it will discuss the draft resolution on ratifying the treaty concerning the creation of the Preferential Trade Area, PTA, for Eastern and Southern

African states; the draft law on the freedom of association; the draft law on the freedom to meet and demonstrate; and the draft law on enterprises.

The session's second and third stages will discuss the draft law on the creation of the State Information and Security Service, SISE, (as an) extension of Snasp [People's National Security Service]; the draft law on crimes against state security; the scrapping of Law 2/79, known as the Law on Crimes Against the People and State Security; the draft law on the status of legal magistrates; the draft law altering Article 4 of the Law on Quota Societies of 11 April 1991; the draft law altering Labor Law number 8/85 of 14 December, regarding a normal working timetable; the draft law on the state's entrepreneurial restructuring; the draft law on public enterprises; the draft law on the scrapping of Law Decree 18/87 on the transformation of administrative commission enterprises into state enterprises; the draft law on the scrapping of Decree 19/77 on the obligatory deposit of shares issued by Mozambique-based societies; and, finally, the draft law on water.

The draft resolution on ratifying the treaty concerning the creation of the PTA for Eastern and Southern African states has already been presented by Deputy Daniel Gabriel, who is also Mozambique's trade minister.

The program also announces the presentation of another three draft laws, notably the draft law on the freedom of association, which has also already been presented. At the moment, Deputy Ossumane Ali Dauto is presenting the draft law on the freedom to meet and demonstrate. Finally, the draft law on the press will be discussed before a plenary session interval that will allow the deputies to study the aforementioned documents in groups.

According to what we have learned, plenary session discussions will resume on 1 July. This second Assembly of the Republic session is initially scheduled to last 20 days, but it may be extended to 30 days.

## Namibia

### Geingob Views Progress of Land Conference

MB2806073691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2149 GMT 27 Jun 91

[By Carmen Honey]

[Text] Windhoek June 27 SAPA—Delegates to Namibia's National Land Reform Conference in Windhoek generally agree the country was unjustly divided up in the past, Prime Minister Mr Hage Geingob said on Thursday.

"It can be said that general consensus emerged that there was injustice concerning the acquisition of land in the past," he said in summing up and giving his impression of the first two days of the conference.

Called and chaired by Mr Geingob, the conference aims to obtain the views of as many Namibians as possible on land reform and the land question to assist the government in formulating its land policy.

Since Tuesday morning representatives of regional and professional organisations, political parties and also independent specialists have put forward their views on every aspect of land reform.

Regarding ancestral rights of Namibians, Mr Geingob said given the complexities of redressing ancestral land claims "restitution of such rights in full is impossible".

A point on which the conference agreed was that foreigners should not be allowed to own land in Namibia, "but should be given the right to use and develop it possibly under leasehold basis", Mr Geingob said.

Delegates also agreed that absentee landlords should not be allowed to own land in Namibia.

Mr Geingob suggested a technical committee be appointed to scientifically approach the question of the optimal size of a productive farm and also to advise on the number of farms a farmer should own. In Namibia, with a population of about 1.5 million, about 4,000 commercial farmers own and farm about 44 percent of agriculturally usable land, while up to one million communal, mainly subsistence, farmers work about 40 percent of the land.

In some communal areas up to 90 percent of the population are dependent on agriculture.

Mr Geingob said he was satisfied with the way the conference was proceeding, adding the first day had been "beyond expectation."

"As you can see we have people from all over the country and you have the views of those hungry for land and also those who have land here. So I'm very happy," he said of the 500 odd delegates.

Asked to comment on the impression representatives were in consensus on many issues, Mr Geingob said: "Well Namibians are Namibians and when it come to a crunch we stand together."

"We are going to solve this problem the Namibian way."

### Parliamentarian Wary About Unspent Budget Surplus

MB2606071591 Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA  
in English 20 Jun 91 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Why Is Surplus Unspent?"]

[Text] Until the Minister of Finance can give us a breakdown about how the unspent surplus of R[rand]200 million came about, we are likely to remain suspicious about the origins of this surplus and the size

of the deficit that we may end up with, Moses Katjiuongua of the National Patriotic Front (NPF) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking to the third reading of the Appropriations Bill, Mr. Katjiuongua questioned whether the "huge unspent surplus" was a result of over budgeting or as a consequence of the inability of the government to utilize the funds properly.

Mr. Katjiuongua said the Finance Minister tended to approach the economic problems of today with the outdated Keynesian methods of thirty years ago. He said growth stimulation could not only be achieved by infrastructural expansion but also by creating the right climate amongst the private sector which has been virtually ignored.

Mr. Katjiuongua argued that an increase in largely non-productive infrastructure does not increase the capacity for consumption. According to Mr. Katjiuongua the economics of Herrigel were leading the country along the path of high inflation and unemployment.

DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance] Chairman Dirk Mudge said the official opposition was optimistic about the future. Commenting briefly on the economics of farming, Mr. Mudge denounced what he said was the misconception that farming was a profitable business. The farmers who are barely making ends meet could not be subjected to contemplated measures such as the abolition of subsidies, he said. "That will be the first step to make life difficult for the commercial farmers," who, Mr. Mudge said, were great employment providers and pillars of the economy.

There were also negative calls that farmers be subjected to GST [general sales tax] and another setback would be VAT (value added tax), if confirmed, Mr. Mudge said.

### Swaziland

#### Spokesman Denies New Measures Censor Press

MB2706174891 Mbabane Swazi Television  
in English 1630 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Text] The secretary to the Cabinet has denied censorship allegations reported by the THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in its edition today. Mr. Alpheus R. Shabangu, who is also head of the civil service and chairman of the Committee for the Coordination of Government Information, said in a statement issued today and following a meeting his committee had with news editors and heads of media houses yesterday, that THE TIMES allegations were unfortunate because they were creating a cloud that did not exist.

He said the proposed procedure was meant to improve the flow of accurate information to the press, adding that

this system was applied by governments and organizations all over the world—with governments using spokesmen and companies, public relations officer, to handle such information.

Mr. Shabangu said that government had decided to make use of its spokesman that was appointed several years ago to handle all information on its behalf; and because of the unprofessional manner in which such information was disseminated to the press, government had decided that the use of the government spokesman as provided for in general orders be enforced. He said it had also been decided that information to the press by government ministries would in future be written to ensure that whatsoever was said on behalf of government was kept in government files for future reference.

He said it was therefore strange that THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND had gone to portray this arrangement as censor or restriction [sentence as heard]. But Mr. Shabangu welcomed positive and constructive criticism, saying it was useful to the government, as rightly stated by THE TIMES itself.

### Zimbabwe

#### \* Political Affairs Ministry Role Explained

91AF1163C Harare THE HERALD in English  
9 May 91 p 1

[Article by Ziana]

[Text] President Mugabe has said there is no conflict between the role of the ruling party, (Zimbabwe African National Union) ZANU (PF) [Patriotic Front], and that of the Ministry of Political Affairs.

The President also assured civil servants that those to be retrenched would not be forsaken during streamlining of Government bureaucracy under the structural adjustment programme.

President Mugabe, who is also the President of the party, was addressing employees of the party and the ministry at ZANU (PF)'s new headquarters in Harare yesterday.

He said ZANU (PF) was the party in power, the ruling party whose job was to mobilise the people as a whole for the purpose of strengthening its role as ruler.

"It was out of that notion, that concept, out of that persuasion that we conceived the idea of creating an arm in Government to support the ruling party's mission of delivering goods and services to the society. We called it the Ministry of Political Affairs and we created it deliberately. And we are not ashamed of it. We are proud of it.

"Look at what the party does or has done for years. Our parties, PF-ZAPU [Patriotic Front-Zimbabwe African People's Union] and ZANU (PF), as they existed,

offered people who sacrificed themselves to liberate the country. And we still say let us continue to sacrifice.

"And people have been giving donations, subscriptions to service the party so it can serve the nation. Our party ZANU (PF), after the unity, has sacrificed for the nation. Why should the nation now not come to the assistance of the party?" the President asked.

He said it was decided that there should be a contribution made by the nation to the party which had done so much for the people. Hence the creation of the ministry. However, the ministry was not for those unenthusiastic about the party. Those not affiliated to ZANU (PF) would not be "kicked out" but would be allowed to transfer to other ministries.

President Mugabe said although there were specific areas the party and the ministry covered, "we realise that the mission, first and foremost, of the Ministry of Political Affairs is to service the party."

There was no need for there to be a conflict or contradiction between the role of the party and the ministry because, he told the ministry's employees, "you are the agents for the party to service areas which the party wants you to."

In that role, the ministry helped the party in its organisational programmes, its commissariat, administration, its wings of the women's and youth leagues.

President Mugabe expressed concern that there were still areas in which conflict continued about the roles of the party and the ministry.

President Mugabe said the integration programme which had resulted in the unity accord between PF-ZAPU and ZANU (PF) was still incomplete. But as the ministry responsible for political affairs, Cde. Didymus Mutasa's ministry would help complete this process as soon as possible.

The Government was going ahead with trimming the bloated bureaucracy and the Cabinet to cut public expenditure as part of its structural adjustment programme. President Mugabe said.

The Public Service Commission was working out how this could best be done without prejudicing anyone.

"The Public Service is currently working on a programme of rationalisation in view of the structural adjustment programme. There is an operation to reduce the size of the Cabinet and Civil Service," said the President.

"I am not saying that the axe will fall on you," Cde. Mugabe told the Government employees, adding that the rationalisation could be done by merging some posts as outlined in the policy of the structural adjustment programme.

**\* South East Border Calm But Problems Arise**

91AF1166B Harare THE HERALD in English  
17 Apr 91 p 1

[Text] Police in the southeastern border area have been put on alert following allegations that some Zimbabweans in the area are illegally recruiting Mozambican refugees as cheap labour for local commercial farmers or for sale to South African farmers.

The army commander, Lieutenant-General Tapfumaneyi Mujuru, who last week toured the Mozambique-Zimbabwe border to assess the security situation, was told that some farmers from as far as Bindura and Mutarashanga were involved in the racket.

In a statement yesterday, the ZNA [Zimbabwe National Army] spokesman said Gen. Mujuru was accompanied on the tour by several army crops directors and senior CIO [Central Intelligence Organization] and Airforce officers.

ZNA army commanders on border operations told Gen. Mujuru that Mozambican refugees fleeing civil war in their country were being recruited from the border area and particularly at the Tongogara Refugee Camp where some vehicles allegedly owned by South Africans involved in the racket were regularly seen.

The troops said black market dealings in South African rands were so rife at the camp and police had started routine checks on foreigners for identification in the Malipati area.

However, the general security situation along the border was now calm with no incidents by MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] bandits being reported since the Rome agreement last December between the Mozambican government and the bandits. Under the agreement, the bandits pledged not to attack Zimbabwe's transport corridors through Mozambique to Beira and Maputo.

Since cessation of cross-border bandit raids into Zimbabwe, troops had stopped conducting operations across the border in Mozambique. The troops' daily routine now involved 24-hour patrols on the Zimbabwe side of the border, laying ambushes on MNR bandit crossing points and protecting strategic installations and civilians sleeping centres.

However, the lull in bandit activities on the border appeared to have coincided with an increased cross-border movement between the two countries. Border troops told Gen. Mujuru that the movement involved Mozambicans crossing into Zimbabwe to sell commodities like mbanje, rhino horns and fish and Zimbabweans who crossed into Mozambique to sell maize meal, bread, sugar, salt, soap and cloth.

Troop commanders said it appeared smugglers were operating in organised gangs in which members came

from as far as Harare and other major towns. Troops had so far apprehended gangs ferrying mbanje, dried fish and rhino horns.

Meanwhile, along the south-eastern boundary around the Southdowns, Mayfield, Burma Valley and Malipati tea estates, Mozambican refugees were voluntarily surrendering to security forces out of a belief that the Rome agreement meant the end of banditry.

But after repatriation, some of the refugees were returning to Zimbabwe on realisation that bandit atrocities were still continuing against civilians. However, some criminal elements on the Zimbabwean side of the border were exploiting the calm situation by engaging in robberies using fake wooden rifles. Some had been apprehended in Chipinge. Stocktheft has been reported and poaching was believed to be on the increase.

Security forces were experiencing problems in screening illegal border jumpers as some of the offenders did not have identification papers. In the Mukumbura area, the Department of Immigration had established a mobile control unit to issue passes to cross-border travellers. Gen. Mujuru called on authorities to establish such units in places such as Chidodo and Rushinga.

Despite a lull in MNR banditry, Zimbabwe civilians were still apprehensive about the security situation and continued to sleep at schools and business centres under the protection of security forces, the commanders told Gen. Mujuru.

#### \* Resettlement Program Has Management Problems

91AF1166A Harare THE HERALD in English  
23 Apr 91 p 1

[Article by Elliot Mahende]

[Text] Most resettlement schemes have been infiltrated by unauthorised settlers, threatening the whole resettlement programme, but the Government cannot evict these people until a proposed law drafted in 1987 is passed by Parliament.

The problem first came to light when THE HERALD revealed the unauthorised sale by settlers at Soti-Source scheme in Masvingo of their 5 ha plots to part-time farmers such as teachers and businessmen.

In an interview yesterday, the director of the Department of Rural Development, which runs resettlement schemes, Cde. Mark Paraiwa, said the problem at Soti-Source was only the "tip of an iceberg."

"The problem (at Soti-Source) is only a manifesto of the symptoms of a major weakness in the way we have been managing the programme," Cde. Paraiwa said.

In an attempt to provide for the smooth implementation of the resettlement programme, Derude, with the assistance of a donor agency, prepared in 1987 draft legislation providing for such things as the appointment of officers to administer the programme, eviction of squatters, and succession.

The draft Bill titled Land Resettlement and Development Bill was still with the Secretary for Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, Cde. Paraiwa said.

"It is contended that, for as long as this bill is not enacted into law, the same problems as those revealed by the investigations at Soti-Source are bound to remain and multiply."

Settlers to a resettlement scheme are issued with three permits granting them permission to cultivate, reside and graze stock within the scheme.

With no specific law to enforce the conditions set out in the permits, it is uncertain whether Derude would secure a conviction should it decide to evict and prosecute the offenders.

"We have not taken action to evict these people (who "bought" plots) and the reason is that there's a little bit of uncertainty on what the Government's position is," Cde Paraiwa said.

The problem of administering resettlement schemes had been compounded by the state of Gimbo that Derude had been forced into by Public Service Commission [PSC] recommendations and "political interference," Cde Paraiwa said.

What was now required was not the isolated "fire-fighting" action at Soti-Source, but the issuing of a policy statement by the Senior Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, Cde. Joseph Msika, on the issue.

Without mentioning names, Cde. Paraiwa said there were some politicians who went about interfering with the work of civil servants in the resettlement schemes. "Civil servants do whatever they do with a desire to protect themselves," he said.

Problems for the management of resettlement schemes began in 1985 when Derude was transferred to the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development where it was rendered "unimportant and unnecessary" and the PSC recommended its dissolution.

As a result all posts which fell vacant during and after 1985 were automatically frozen and their filling embargoed by the PSC. For example, while 130 resettlement officers are required, there are only 68 posts on the establishment, a third of which had been frozen until two months ago.

This had resulted in schemes being managed by trainee resettlement assistants in some cases, while in other fields orderlies did the job of resettlement officers.

In 1989, the PSC proposed that Derude be dissolved despite the fact that the Cabinet had decided that the department be strengthened in line with the Government's new national land policy, Cde. Paraiwa said.

"It is clear from all this that nothing can be more calculated to completely demoralise staff," Cde. Paraiwa said. The desire by the Government to emulate the successful Malaysian resettlement programme would not succeed until Derude was strengthened, he said.

#### \* Funds Earmarked To Help Laid Off Workers

91AF1162E Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English  
28 Apr 91 p 1

[Text] Zimbabwe has earmarked \$20 million to cushion the blow by economic reforms to the poor and an estimated 50,000 to 60,000 workers—30,000 of whom will be civil servants—to be retrenched in the initial stages of the structural adjustment programme.

The figures were disclosed yesterday by Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions secretary-general Morgan Tsvangirai at a seminar on Dialogue on National Development.

The Government has announced that it is putting together a comprehensive social security programme to protect the poor, low-income earners, the disabled, women and children against envisaged hardships caused by the implementation of the reform programme.

"We understand the Social Fund will be \$20 million," said Cde. Tsvangirai.

However, he said his main question was "how many people can be assisted for how long with \$20 million?"

He said the ZCTU [Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions] was setting up a trust fund to finance employment creation programmes like co-operatives for retrenched workers. Cde. Tsvangirai said the ZCTU believed the concept of co-operatives had been wrongly approached and as such the labour movement would set out to improve the performance of existing co-operatives.

He doubted the possible success of the reform programme, saying without global adjustment, the programme would fail because it had to relate with global economies over which Zimbabwe or other Third World countries had no influence. They also did not control the trade patterns.

In Bulawayo, the ZCTU has challenged the Government to make a meaningful reduction in income tax, arguing that the reduction introduced this month was insignificant compared to the rate at which the cost of living is rising.

In an interview, the ZCTU's deputy secretary-general, Cde. Nicholas Mudzengerere, said although his organisation appreciated the idea of reducing income tax, it is said that "the reduction is very insignificant."

He said most workers were above the bracket that would no longer pay any income tax, and would therefore not benefit much from the reduction which was virtually "meaningless" for those in the high-income bracket.

"The cost of living is spiralling, and the majority of workers can hardly make ends meet, and therefore the Government should reconsider the tax issue, and make more meaningful reductions," Cde. Mudzengerere said.

He said some people were now unable to go to work because of lack of bus fare. He gave the example of people staying in Chitungwiza, whom he said have to pay \$2 per head to go to work, and another \$2 back home. "Worse still, most of the pirate taxis end at Chikwanha, meaning people staying further than that have to pay an extra dollar to get home."

"How many people can afford this?" Cde. Mudzengerere asked.

He said some of the people staying in suburbs within walking distance of town or the industrial sites were now waking up at night to walk to work in order to try and make ends meet.

#### \* Trade Union Congress: Economic Debate Needed

91AF1162C Harare THE HERALD in English  
2 May 91 p 1

[Text] The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions [ZCTU] has called for a "widespread and informed" debate on the country's economic policy and for the Government to encourage that debate, listen to what the people have to say and implement the decisions taken.

Addressing thousands of workers marking Workers' Day in Harare's Rufaro Stadium yesterday, the union's president, Cde. Gibson Sibanda, said the nation had to avoid "the politics of frustration, resistance, strike action, demonstrations and spontaneous street politics" that occurred when democracy broke down and people were no longer listened to.

Reviewing the past year, Cde. Sibanda said some of the workers' struggles had borne fruit, resulting in the state of emergency being lifted and the non-imposition of a one-party state. He urged MPs [Members of Parliament] "not to sit on paper laws but to push for a real and effective land reform programme in this country."

Turning to the present, he said although many of the basic political rights Zimbabweans had fought for had been won, the unions still continued to campaign "for the unfettered right" to strike.

"As long as the employers hide their profits from us, what other weapon do we have?" he asked.

He said the liberation struggle was also a struggle for real economic change including the right to work and a fair wage, land, freedom from hunger, education and health care, rest and leisure and to adequate shelter, clothing and transport. People had fought to share Zimbabwe's wealth among everyone and not only the few richest families.

There were now one million people unemployed, the minimum wage was less than half the poverty datum line and the best half of the country's land was still owned by less than 1 percent of Zimbabweans. The housing waiting list in Harare alone was 65,000 while thousands of families lodged in single rooms or backyard shacks.

"Freedom from hunger? How can this be when 50 kg. of mealie meal costs one-fifth a domestic worker's wage?" he said to applause.

He said the ZCTU had adopted the theme "Liberalisation or Liberation?" because it was asking whether liberalisation would bring the changes that people fought for in the liberation struggle and whether structural adjustment would give workers jobs, wages, houses, transport, food, pensions and land they deserved.

The structural adjustment programme, he said, would result in the lifting of price controls, reduction in Government regulation of imports and exports and the protection of local business. It would also mean cuts in Government expenditure on health and education and loss of a quarter of jobs in the public sector and thousands more in the private sector.

The Government would also cut subsidies to parastatals and privatised some of them so that services like transport and electricity would become much more expensive. These measures were going to "hit hard" at the poor. "We are told, however, that these hardships are temporary and that if we tighten our belts we will be better off by 1995. But will we?" he asked.

He said contrary to what was being said there was "nothing home-grown" about Zimbabwe's structural adjustment programme and it was almost identical to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank structural adjustment programmes already implemented in more than three-quarters of African countries since 1980.

Incomes had fallen by over a quarter and unemployment had risen in those countries and "even in the so-called success stories like Ghana, Senegal and Cote d'Ivoire, the gross national product decreased or remained stagnant, people's consumption went down and investment slowed down." In all these countries, fees for health services and schools had forced people to stop using them.

In Zimbabwe people had already begun to feel the pinch and prices of basic goods had gone up by between 10 and 60 percent since May Day last year.

#### \* Producer, Consumer Prices on Crops Increased

91AF1162A Harare *THE HERALD* in English  
25 Apr 91 pp 1, 12

[Text] Farmers will be paid more for all controlled crops, except groundnuts, delivered from 1 April and the increases have been passed to consumers with immediate effect.

Farmers will be paid 20 percent more for their white maize and consumers will have to find 30 percent more for roller meal and 35 percent more for super-refined meal.

The consumer increases would have been nearer 45 percent but for a Government decision to retain subsidies. However, the differential in percentage increases should help the marketing boards cut losses and the food processing industries modernise and expand.

The price of wheat will rise by 13 percent from 1 October and the price of bread will rise on the same date to 99 cents for a white loaf and 90 cents for brown bread. Wheat and bread prices rise four months later than maize and meal prices because of the different growing seasons.

The announcements, in line with the new Government policy of approving producer and final retail prices in a single passage, were made yesterday in Harare and Bulawayo.

The Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement, Cde. Witness Mangwende, announced the new farmers' prices in Harare while the Minister of Industry and Commerce, Cde. Kumbirai Kangai, announced the outline of new consumer prices in Bulawayo. He is attending the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair.

Cde. Kangai last night stressed that the prices were effective from the time he announced them. He said the Government Gazette carrying the announcement would be published any time now.

With effect from yesterday, the price of super refined meal went up by 35 percent while the price of roller meal and straight run mealie meal rose by 30 percent. A 50 kg bag of roller meal will now cost \$30.12 while that of super refined goes up to \$40.52. The old prices were \$23.17 and \$30.12 respectively. Cooking oil went up by 10 percent.

The reason, said Cde. Kangai, was to cushion the newly increased producer prices.

The prices could have been much higher if the Government had not stepped in with a targeted subsidy which otherwise could have pushed the increases up by 45 percent.

The prices of bread would go up with effect from 1 October. A loaf of white bread which at present costs 75 cents would go up to 99 cents while that of brown bread would go up by about 18 percent to 90 cents.

Cde. Kangai said that was a result of the increase in wheat producer prices. The Government was doing this to encourage farmers to grow wheat so wheat imports could be cut saving foreign currency.

Cooking oil went up by 10 percent and stockfeed went up by between 10 and 15 percent. Cde. Kangai said this was not a result of the economic structural adjustment programme but the agricultural sector had to be viable.

On the basic commodity shortages, Cde. Kangai said his ministry was working out a strategy to iron out the problem that whenever there was a rumour of an impending increase on a particular commodity the product either disappeared from the shelves or there would be a go-slow.

Cde. Kangai said the shortage of white sugar was not a result of exports but suppliers hoarded the commodity in anticipation of a price increase. With the newly announced prices he hoped these scarce commodities would be back on the shelves.

He conceded that there was a butter shortage but the problem was expected to ease after the Government placed hexim (one of the basic commodities in the manufacturing of butter) under the Open General Import Licence.

For farmers the price of white maize goes up by 20 percent from \$225 a tonne to \$270 a tonne, while that of yellow maize goes up by the biggest margin of 27.1 percent from \$191.25 to \$243 a tonne. White sorghum goes up by 11.1 percent from \$225 to \$250 a tonne.

Red sorghum goes up by an impressive 19.4 percent from \$180 to \$215 a tonne. Mhunga and rapoko which have limited markets, but which do well in marginal areas, received an increase of 4 and 3.3 percent respectively.

Mhunga goes up from \$250 to \$260 a tonne while rapoko goes up from \$300 to \$310 a tonne. Grade B soybeans go up by 15.5 percent from \$485 to \$560 a tonne.

Sunflower rises by 14.9 percent from \$505 to \$580 a tonne. Wheat, which has resulted in a shortage of bread in some areas, rises by 13 percent from \$460 to \$520 a tonne while B grade cotton rises by 22.7 percent from 110c/kg to 135c/kg.

The presidents of the Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union and the Commercial Farmers' Union were among those who attended the announcement.

The three general managers of dairy, cotton and grain marketing boards [GMB] were also present as was the chairman of the Agricultural Marketing Authority, Dr. Robbie Mupawose.

Cde. Mangwende said there was a need to award a realistic price to white maize producers this year. This was mainly because of a strong domestic demand for the

crop caused by drought relief as well as substantial opportunities for maize on the regional market.

Farmers were beginning to move away from maize for more profitable crops resulting in a reduction in production, a situation which should not be allowed to continue, Cde. Mangwende said.

"From a problem of surpluses up to just a few months ago, we now face the prospect of a shortfall of supplies to meet domestic and viable export requirements in 1991/92," said the minister. There was therefore a need to stimulate production and generate more income for farmers "especially those in the communal areas who are now the main source of maize production and supply to the GMB."

According to the last food security bulletin, the crop in the ground was below the 1.7 million tonnes needed every 12 months. The GMB expects only 675,000 tonnes to be delivered between 1 April and 31 March next year. This means that further export orders have had to be stopped taking into account the fact that 950,000 tonnes are needed for local consumption. The country had about 714,000 tonnes in stock from March.

While granting yellow maize the biggest percentage rise, Cde. Mangwende warned that should there be a big switch from white to yellow maize, he might reconsider the partial decontrol system. Under the partial decontrol system, yellow maize can be sold among farmers mainly for stockfeed purposes.

On oilseeds, Cde. Mangwende said the supply of vegetable oils had been below demand level and it was therefore necessary to rapidly expand the supply to meet requirement.

He noted the sharp decline in cotton production in the past two seasons, from a high 323,282 tonnes in 1988/89 to 186,000 tonnes 1990/91. Many peasant farmers relied on this crop for income and it therefore needed encouragement.

On wheat, he noted that despite the steady growth in production in the last 10 years, it had failed to meet domestic demand which was now at 400,000 tonnes a year. By awarding price increases every year, farmers were encouraged to invest in irrigation and water storage which were crucial to wheat production.

On small grains, the minister said all stocks of red sorghum held by the GMB had now been sold or were committed and the Government wanted to see the production of varieties and qualities needed by the market, and to develop viable export markets for malt. Therefore the crop would remain a regulated one under contract for Chibuku and other processors.

Cde. Mangwende said those not under contract would continue to sell to the GMB but at a price that would not burden the board's trading account or discourage contractors.

"For white sorghum, the new producer price is lower than that of white maize, as the new producer price for white maize is an incentive price," said Cde. Mangwende.

On mhunga and rapoko, the minister said there was a big potential demand by pig and poultry producers and rural milling. "Therefore, mhunga and rapoko will remain regulated products, with the GMB offering a residual price, while efforts continue to be made to promote private marketing and processing of these grains."

On groundnuts, the minister said there had been no significant expansion of production over the last 10 years. Intake by the GMB had remained a very small proportion of total production. Most farmers retained their crop for home consumption or side-marketed it.

While the basic price remained the same, supplementary payments based on market realisations similar to those of coffee would be made.

The producer price increase of milk would be effected in three phases, at four-monthly intervals at 5 cents a litre. The DMB [dairy marketing board] would be given the flexibility to introduce the second and third phase increases based on supply and sales.

However, increases for milk may be varied if production rose by more than 5 percent growth rate and or sales declined by more than 10 percent.

Cde. Mangwende said the reduce subsidies to the marketing boards, the Government had synchronised producer and wholesale selling prices and this policy would be maintained in future.

#### \* Gold Output, Export Earnings Increase

91AF1166D Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE  
in English 2 May 91 p 1

[Article by Rangarirai Shoko]

[Text] Zimbabwe will this year earn about \$600 million from gold exports, up from \$500 million in 1990, due to a significant increase in output, top officials of the Chamber of Mines forecast this week.

In an interview, the president of the Chamber of Mines, Mr. Elias Ngugama and the chief executive, Mr. Derek Bain, said local gold producers were expected to increase national output of the precious metal from 16.9 tonnes in 1990 to about 18 tonnes this year.

This, the two officials said, would account for a \$100 million increase in export earnings from gold.

But Mr. Ngugama and Mr. Bain said the current gold price fluctuation on the international markets, which had sent it crashing from the US\$400 an ounce ceilings of two years ago, to only US\$350 an ounce now, was causing concern among local producers.

They said the gold price was at the moment in a state of frequent sharp fluctuation on the international markets and that it was difficult to give a definite assessment of future price trends.

So far this year, the officials said, the price of gold had averaged US\$3474 an ounce.

"It is difficult to give a clear-cut assessment of the price in future but we are hopeful this will pick up again," said Mr. Ngugama.

The officials said the slackening price of gold was mainly due to weaker world demand for it and constant speculation on the Soviet Union's intentions to saturate the market.

But Mr. Bain said there was greater demand for jewellery gold on the international market, but Zimbabwe did not produce this in sufficient quantities to affect the precious metals forecast revenue-earning structure for this year.

As for other minerals, the two officials said all except one had been adversely affected in price by the recession that has hit Western Europe.

They said the minerals Zimbabwe exported, except asbestos, were currently fetching lower prices on the international markets compared to the same period last year.

"We are hoping the recessionary effects that have affected our products will be short-lived and our minerals fetch higher prices again," said Mr. Ngugama.

### Burkina Faso

#### Compaore, Unions Discuss National Situation

AB2706122091 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Text] We begin the news bulletin with this communiqué: Today a consultative meeting was held between President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso and the various trade unions of our country, both confederated trade unions and autonomous trade unions. Opening the session, the president of Burkina Faso first congratulated the trade unions for participating in the democratization process in our country from the establishment of the Constitutional Commission to the approval of the Constitution. Next the president summed up the various meetings he has held with the political parties and with customary and religious leaders in connection with the transitional period leading to establishing democratic institutions.

Through their spokesman, the trade unions thanked the president for this initiative and expressed their adherence to the fundamental principles of our Constitution. The trade unions agreed to meet again after this meeting in order to express their appreciation of the national situation.

#### Roundtable Conference Ad Hoc Committee Resumes

AB2806104091 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 25 Jun 91

[Text] The lead story in this news bulletin is the resumption this morning, at the former Ministry of Territorial Administration, of deliberations of the roundtable conference ad hoc committee. Fifteen political parties took part in this session which discussed the opportunity of a national conference. Here is Philippe Ouedraogo, chairman of the ad hoc committee, on the participation of the political parties in this session.

[Begin recording] Today the ad hoc committee was due to meet and all political parties—including those which walked out on the first day—were invited to attend this morning's meeting. Unfortunately we noticed that the parties which pulled out on the first day, the maiden session of the roundtable conference, failed to return. All we know is that they refused to attend the ad hoc committee. They called for reconvening a special session of the roundtable conference to enable them to join the major roundtable conference to discuss the main issues that need to be discussed by all parties and political organizations. [end recording]

This afternoon we visited the CNPB/PST [expansion unknown] headquarters where representatives of all 13 parties met to discuss the issue of their nonparticipation in the ad hoc committee session. Nata has the story.

[Nata] Comrade Herman Yameogo, secretary general of the [word indistinct] and spokesman of the 13 parties

gives the reasons for their absence from the ad hoc committee deliberations this morning

[Begin Yameogo recording] Our parties all received letters from the head of state inviting us to contact the executives of the ad hoc committee to work out the practical modalities for our participation in this committee's deliberations. We were all satisfied with this letter, which was proof of the head of state's willingness to initiate dialogue and consultation with the opposition forces. Consequently we addressed a letter to the head of state expressing our satisfaction and promising to immediately contact the executive board of the ad hoc committee.

We also issued a statement which was published in the OBSERVATEUR-PALGA to inform our activists of this new development and expressed hope that the practical modalities for our participation in this ad hoc committee would not, at any rate, block our return to the roundtable conference. We formed a delegation and met with the chairman of the ad hoc committee, Philippe Ouedraogo. We expressed our satisfaction to the chairman of this committee, adding that it was necessary to convene a meeting similar to the one from which we were expelled and that the press should be allowed to attend the debates to ensure accurate reporting on developments at the roundtable conference.

The chairman of the committee took note of what we said and promised to contact us either later in the evening or early the next morning to inform us of the exact position. We judged it necessary, in any case, to try to get out of this mess by contacting the ad hoc committee. We waited throughout the evening. The next morning, we turned up at the CNPB headquarters at 0730 where we remained until about 1000 or 1100, but there were no further developments. [end recording]

### Ghana

#### Constitution Committee Wants Deadline Extension

AB2806102091 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 25 Jun 91

[Text] The nine-member committee of experts which is drafting the country's next constitution says it cannot meet its July 2 deadline because of the heavy work load. In an interview with the GHANA NEWS AGENCY in Accra today, the chairman of the committee, Dr. S.K.B. Asante, said the committee, which started meeting on 11 June, has made substantial progress. However, having regard to the final product and areas still to be tackled, the July 2 deadline is unrealistic. Dr. Asante said the committee is therefore making representations to the government to extend the deadline, adding that the end of July would be more realistic. He said the committee plans not only to prepare proposals but to formulate a draft text of those areas of the constitution to be dealt with.

On the atmosphere during their deliberations, Dr. Asante said from time to time strong views are expressed on either side. However the members usually thrash out the issues after long discussions. If they do not, the members decide to come back to the issues pointing out that sometimes they did that against the background of further research.

Dr. Asante stressed that the committee wants to make sure every proposal submitted will be tested against Ghana's own background as well as those of countries in similar situations. He said drafting a constitution to be debated by the consultative assembly is not unique in constitution writing. He said a document is always prepared by a team of experts to provide the parameters for discussions. Dr. Asante stated that it would be impracticable, if not almost futile, for an assembly of over 200 representatives to embark on the formulation of the constitution without having before them a set of proposals prepared in advance. He added: There has been the experience of Ghana in the past constitutions and the experience of most constitutional processes around the world.

Under the government's plan, the committee of experts was to have presented its report by July 2 for the Consultative Assembly to start work almost immediately. The Consultative Assembly is then to present a draft constitution to the government by 31 December this year.

#### Opposition Movement Holds News Conference

AB2806133091 London BBC World Service in English  
1709 GMT 26 Jun 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] government's plans for a consultative assembly in Ghana to discuss the country's future are getting a series of thumbs down. The outspoken lawyers of the Bar Association said they will not send in representatives; so has the National Union of Ghanaian Students, NUGS. Now the Movement for Freedom and Justice, MFJ, which is an umbrella organization for opposition groups in Ghana, has given its verdict at a press conference in Accra, and they will not give the government much to smile about, as Ajoa Yeboah Afari reports in this fax from Accra:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The MFJ chairman, Professor Adu Boahen, told the well attended conference with representations from almost all the big Western diplomatic missions in the country that recent developments in the country have confirmed the movement's suspicion that the ruling PNDC was, as he put it, taking the whole country and the world for a ride. He said the methods the PNDC was taking in the process for a return to constitutional rule are fraudulent and undemocratic and, in the view of the MFJ, calculated to legitimize and

perpetuate the PNDC regime and guarantee the transformation of Flight Lieutenant Rawlings from a self-imposed military dictator to a constitutional monarch.

Prof. Adu Boahen said his movement, therefore, welcomed the decision of the Bar Association and the National Union of Ghanaian Students to boycott the consultative assembly. He accused the PNDC of having formed a political party in spite of the PNDC's own ban on party political activity. He said the PNDC's party was in the guise of a body known as the Eagle Club. He said that in spite of denials of the PNDC, its agents are actively forming branches of the Eagle Club all over the country with the resources of the state. He said that even people who are disposed to accept the PNDC program are asking a number of pertinent questions such as: Why has the PNDC refused to announce a definite timetable for the return to a democratic government. Prof. Adu Boahen appealed to all prodemocracy forces and especially members of the two old political traditions, the CPP [Convention's People Party] of Kwame Nkrumah and the Progress Party of Dr. Busia, to sink their differences and rally for the immediate and smooth transition to democratic rule. [end recording]

#### Guinea-Bissau

#### Ruling Party Accused of Blocking Democracy

AB2706124691 Paris AFP in French 1708 GMT  
25 Jun 91

[Text] Bissau, 25 Jun (AFP)—The opposition Democratic Social Front [FDS] led by Raphael Barbosa, yesterday accused the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde [PAIGC, former ruling party] of blocking the democratic process in Guinea-Bissau by repressing opposition activists in the regions. In a communique published yesterday in Bissau, the FDS named provincial authorities in the north and south of the country perpetrating savage acts of repression against opposition activists and intimidating, in particular, those seeking to leave the PAIGC to join the ranks of the newly created opposition parties.

"The north and south provincial authorities are banning our activists from free movement in their regions while the central authorities and the PAIGC are blocking the liberalization process by refusing to reduce the paperwork for publishing laws on the press and the right to go on strike," Mr. Barbosa said. He also denounced "the inefficiency of the Supreme Court in effectively controlling the smooth running of political activities in the country."

The northern and southern authorities have denied manhandling the opposition activists, a reliable source disclosed.

\* **Bafata Movement Discusses Political Prospects**

91AF11524 *Lisbon SABADO in Portuguese*  
24-30 May 91 pp 64-66

[Interview with Bafata Movement President Domingos Fernandes by Jose Vilas Monteiro; date, place not given]

[Text] The unexpected democratization of Guinea-Bissau is owed more to the international climate and domestic pressure than to the will of the regime. At least that is what the Bafata Resistance Movement of Guinea-Bissau [MBRGB] thinks, a part of the opposition.

Domingos Fernandes, a doctor 40 years of age, resident of Portugal, married and with two children, is president of the MBRGB. With him and with the spokesman of the movement, Antero Branco, we are herewith analyzing the open-door process of the former Portuguese colony. Fernandes is optimistic about the future of his country, although he recognizes that democracy is not a universal panacea. Brought up as a Catholic, he expresses ideas which are well-founded, has the Portuguese taste for exaggerated adjectives and the tranquillity of a man who is at peace with himself and who considers his objectives within reach. It is with these that, in broad gestures, he gives emphasis to his comments.

[Monteiro] Does the MBRGB believe in the process of democratization which is underway in Guinea-Bissau?

[Fernandes] Democracy is a process of its own; it is a path which is extremely long to follow; but we can truthfully say that the foundations for the democratization of society are being established. If you ask if we believe in the sincerity of the open-door policy of the Bissau regime, I would have to tell you no. The MBRGB does not believe in the sincerity of the Bissau regime in opening the country to the genuine and free participation of the Guineans. But one thing is certain: I believe less that dictatorship will last.

[Monteiro] What then, in your opinion, will be Guinea's future prospects in the next few years?

[Fernandes] Guineans have become aware that without a change in the direction of democracy, progress will continue to be delayed. Hence, all quadrants are beginning to express the desire to build a new Guinean society. Those forms of social participation, expressed in the creation of various political parties as permitted by the Popular Assembly [AP] and voted into law as of 8 May, lead us to view the future of our country with great optimism. Despite all the trickery which the PAIGC [African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde] will be using to make the process difficult, we believe that the democratic forces will end up winning. That victory began with the defeat which the AP inflicted on the PAIGC in rejecting a series of proposals put forth by PAIGC's Central Committee [CC] aimed at controlling the political process. Among these were one which stipulated that the number of registrations in each party for the party's legalization

should be 5,000 instead of 2,000 as decided by the AP; another that for each region there should be 400 individuals represented in each party instead of 100 as determined by the AP. This without speaking of the absurd pretense of preventing the participation of Guineans who had a commitment with the colonial regime; Guinea-Bissau's CC ended up rejecting this proposal on the basis of permitting all Guineans 18 years old or older to participate actively. Lastly, it was here that the first truly significant opposition of the Guineans against the PAIGC had its beginning.

[Monteiro] It was hoped that the process would be substantially slower than it ended up being. Three months ago no one expected that there would already be parties in operation. How do you explain this?

[Fernandes] First of all, the efforts of the opposition and, especially, that of the MBRGB in denouncing the ill will of the PAIGC in the advancement of the democratic process in Guinea-Bissau. It was an arduous but effective effort which resulted in internal and international contacts with parties and individuals; pressures which ended up playing an extremely important role in the awareness of the Guinean leaders. Let us also not forget that Guinea-Bissau, rejecting entrance into the club of democracies taking shape in Africa, ended up feeling terribly isolated within the context of the Five. It was, and until now continues to be, the only African Portuguese-speaking country in which there was no direct dialogue between the government and the opposition. Now for a country which finds itself in an extremely difficult economic situation, like Guinea-Bissau, pressures and international isolation end up being extremely serious for the regime; that is why the country decided to open up, and rapidly. To give an example of the truth of this matter, the regime wanted to relax its position; it did so without any internal discussion; with no particular participation in the preparation of the minimum bases. This did not happen in Cape Verde or Sao Tome, which saw the development of a whole set of dynamics in favor of democracy. It should be noted that Guinea-Bissau rejected the open-door policy but was eventually forced to adopt that policy and is doing so in a haphazard manner. That is not what the MBRGB wanted.

[Monteiro] In what manner did the democratization process in Cape Verde, a country in which Guinea was bound by the same party until 10 years ago, influence Guinea's public opinion?

[Fernandes] Guineans were very enthusiastic and elated over the democratic changes made in Cape Verde and Sao Tome, by the peaceful manner and spirit of dialogue which characterized that change. Among the majority of the Guinean people there was great hope that the country would follow that example. The same did not occur on the part of the regime. With those two victories in a short space of time and in such an expressive manner, the regime remained terrorized over the possibility that the same could occur—which, of course, was likely to happen. And the first reaction was that of

hardening the positions. It should not be forgotten that shortly after the elections in Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, an extraordinary PAIGC congress was convened in Bissau and that the radical nature of the positions was such that all moderate members were expelled from the CC and Political Bureau [BP]. Individuals who characterized the PAIGC in recent times—Manuel dos Santos, Filinto Barros, Manuel Barcelos, and Agnelo Regalo—and who were color bearers representing a certain degree of modernity on the part of the PAIGC, were relegated to a second-level position. This particularly applied to PAIGC's status abroad. However, there is no doubt that the PAIGC must now abide by the evidence, thanks to what occurred in Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe.

[Monteiro] How do you think things will turn out until election time?

[Fernandes] All will depend on the good judgment of the regime in recognizing the inevitability of the process in its move toward democracy. If it is agreed to construct a new Guinean society through dialogue, I believe that the Guinean soul, a tolerant soul, will end up prevailing and the opposition forces will end up establishing "timings" advantageous for all political forces; and this would permit a change without traumas, without great social upheavals. However, if the regime persists in wanting to control the process and mine the path toward democracy through instruments of repression which they still hold, such as the political policy and the armed forces, then I would begin to be much more pessimistic. And here we would begin to think about another type of less fortunate examples of the democratic evolution in Africa: Cape Verde and Sao Tome are examples, and, since Portuguese is our native language, we are interested in having Guinea-Bissau set the proper example. But Africa also has other examples: those of Mali, Togo, Burundi, and Liberia. This moment represents a challenge to the political maturity of the African man. If we all understand that the African man must take a step in the direction of freedom after having taken the first step, which was independence, then we shall have processes of advantage to everyone. But history has told us that, unfortunately, bad judgment has greatly, I repeat greatly, influenced the evolution of our continent. Hence, we view everything with a certain optimism but also with a certain amount of apprehension.

[Monteiro] You spoke about tolerance. Europe established that as an axiom of politics. Do you think that this principle has any future in Africa?

[Fernandes] Why not? I believe that Africa's entire history has been characterized by a certain tolerance to a whole series of violences supported by the African man. Some call that fatalism. I prefer to give it a different meaning—one based on tolerance pure and simple.

It is obvious that I do not view democratization—and I would like for the concepts to be very clear—as a panacea for all evils. And it is also with a certain degree

of vexation that I observe that, due to the difficulties of the African governments in understanding that times change and the awareness of man changes as he seeks greater freedom, those governments reduce or make it necessary for the process of democratization to be reduced, to a mere conquest of power. The process of democratization in Africa should be a discussion of the major African questions, from the present to the past, and not just a struggle for the substitution of power. Unfortunately, this has not been the case, since the democratic forces, acting in response to extremely bad faith, had no other alternative than to achieve power first and then attempt to promote discussion. For if there is not discussion in Africa on what democracy will permit, on what constitutes progress, the identity of the African man, and the role of traditional society, democracy runs the risk of being once more converted into a simple way of life rather than one which contains enormous potentialities for the progress of mankind.

[Monteiro] When will the MBRGB return to Guinea-Bissau?

[Fernandes] The MBRGB already has a delegation prepared to be in Bissau in May. We are struggling to come up with a political project based on clear and concrete ideas, such as those involving human rights, freedom, and pluralist democracy. Just five years after its founding, the MBRGB appears to be telling the world: our project has won. That is true. But we are not stopping here. For the novelty of the MBRGB project was that we indicated the path to follow and prepared a new project. What is the next project? It is that of society, of development: a new mentality which will make it possible to take advantage of all the great potentialities which Guinea-Bissau possesses and which can generate progress and well-being, which is a human right. Any government leader who is not capable of providing a pencil, notebook, and an aspirin is not satisfying what is called human rights. To be sure, we could not engage in a theoretical defense of human rights without presenting a development project.

[Monteiro] You spoke of notebooks, pencils, and aspirins. How do you visualize the change in Guinea-Bissau's economy in a democratic regime?

[Fernandes] What we believe is that democracy will unleash a series of potentialities on behalf of anyone who is free to express his fantasy; and that this combination of fantasies will aid in finding the best road toward the utilization of the human and material resources available to Guinea; and in this way we shall establish the foundations for our country's progress. As for the resolution of specific problems, we believe that it is important to stop engaging in forms of collectivism which contributed nothing, but also we are not among those who will take the opposite view. The role of the state is important so long as it is just; so long as it promotes equality in the distribution of goods which Guinea-Bissau might generate; goods coming from the outside

world which do not permit certain individuals to benefit from the country's riches to the detriment of others who are poor—one of the characteristics of the Third World. We have this concern while undoubtedly respecting the laws of the market economy. We base our philosophy on the papal encyclical: "The Hundred Years" which is important in the orientation of our social system.

[Monteiro] But Guinea is not a Catholic country.

[Fernandes] It is eminently religious, and the MBRGC derives its strength from that religious spirit. We are a lay party, but our roots can be traced to the religious tendencies of the Guinean people, whether Moslems, so-called animists, Catholics, Protestants, and others. The MBRGB is this spectrum of religious expression. We are not atheists; this we are not.

### Ivory Coast

#### Opposition Parties Demand Government Resignation

AB2806110591 Paris AFP in French 2201 GMT  
25 Jun 91

[Text] Abidjan, 25 Jun (AFP)—Today a group comprising nine political parties protested the Ivorian authorities' latest measures and called for the resignation of the government and the establishment of a transition cabinet. The government decided to dissolve the pro-opposition Federation of Students and Pupils of Ivory Coast and to conscript teachers following the death of a student killed by his colleagues who accused him of being a government paid "thug."

At a news conference, representatives of parties of the group described these measures as "diversionary maneuvers designed to preclude an independent inquiry" into the events that occurred at the Yopougon University residence hall in Abidjan where the Army intervened in mid-May.

Two weeks ago, the Ivorian head of state, Mr. Felix Houphouet-Boigny, announced the establishment of a commission of inquiry. The authorities conceded that people had been injured during the Army intervention but rejected allegations that there were deaths. The Ivorian Popular Front, the largest opposition party, has called for the government's resignation several times already.

**University, High School Teachers Continue Strike**  
AB2806121291 Paris AFP in French 1234 GMT  
26 Jun 91

[Text] Abidjan, 26 Jun (AFP)—For the second day in a row, classes did not begin today at the university and in the two major high schools in Abidjan, despite the requisition order issued yesterday [as received] by the government, an AFP reporter observed. The union of university teachers, National Union of Research and

Higher Education Workers, has embarked on an unlimited strike in answer to the requisition order. Teachers of the higher institutions of learning observed a "Dead Campus" day yesterday.

This morning university students who arrived at the university in small numbers left after observing that there were no classes. Teachers and pupils were present at the Abidjan Government Senior High School and the Abidjan Senior High Technical School, but the teachers did not teach. At Daloa, the number three city in the country, classes were interrupted in most cases, an AFP reporter observed.

The Ivorian minister of education, Mr. Bamba Vamoussa, stated last night that 75 percent of high school teachers were at their posts while 34 percent of university teachers reported. The two trade unions of the education sector said yesterday that the strike was observed by 60 to 70 percent of high school teachers and 80 percent of university teachers.

#### Minister on Efforts To Combat Drug Problem

AB2806121891 Abidjan Radiodiffusion Ivoirienne  
Radio in French 1245 GMT 26 Jun 91

[Text] The world community is today celebrating World Drug Control Day. On this occasion, each country is expected to organize activities to promote awareness of the adverse effects of the marketing and consumption of drugs. In Ivory Coast, the occasion was marked by a government message to the nation read by Mr. Emile Constant Bombet, minister of interior and security. In this message, carried several times on our radio, Minister Bombet raised the alarm. The drug problem, he said, is about to become a real plague in our country:

[Begin Bombet recording] This plague, which was unknown in Ivory Coast for a long time, has unfortunately affected the country for some time now. Smugglers, who are always in search of new markets, henceforth use our country as a stopover before continuing to Asia, America, or Europe. Meanwhile cocaine, heroin, and other harmful substances processed in clandestine laboratories situated outside our borders have found their way to the streets and markets of our towns and villages, which are no longer spared.

Apart from activities organized in connection with National Drug Control Day, the government has demonstrated its preparedness to conduct this control on a daily basis with the creation of a special high level outfit charged with drug control. This body, which started as a state secretariat, later became a full-fledged ministry before being converted into a major directorate of the Ministry of Interior and Security. This outfit and the men working there accomplish a great task with the help of resources placed at their disposal either by the government or by international organizations and friendly countries. [end recording]

**Nigeria****Three Dead in Okada Plane Crash Near Sokoto**

AB2706183591 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English  
1700 GMT 27 Jun 91

[Text] Three persons have died in an air crash involving an Okada Airline that crash-landed last night at Gidan Kadaru in Kware Local Government Area of Sokoto State. The Kano-bound plane, which crash-landed about 10 km outside Sokoto, was reported to have been unable to land at Kano Airport due to bad weather. The bad weather was said to have damaged the aircraft's communications system.

Eighteen of the survivors are receiving treatment at the Sokoto Specialist Hospital. Others who had minor or no injuries had left for their various destinations. The captain of the aircraft, Don Ticura, and his copilot, Slim Okoli, refused to speak (?on the spot) to the press. However, some of the surviving passengers spoken to on their hospital beds commended the efforts of the pilots and praised their courage.

The aircraft, carrying 49 passengers, was reported to have been in the air for more than three and a half hours. A normal flight from Lagos to Kano takes one hour and 10 minutes.

Meanwhile, the commissioner for finance, Alhaji Ahmed Mohammed Sanni, has led a team of government officials to the scene of the crash and hospital to sympathize with the survivors. Alhaji Ahmed Sanni announced that the Sokoto State Government has already taken over their medical and feeding expenses. The Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, also visited the scene of the incident, as well as the hospital, and wished the survivors quick recovery.

**Unions Suspend Proposed Industrial Action**

AB2806123591 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network  
in English 2100 GMT 26 Jun 91

[Text] The Nonacademic Staff Union and Senior Staff Association of Nigerian Universities, Teaching Hospitals, and Research Institutes have agreed to suspend their industrial action planned to start tomorrow. The unions came to this agreement after a meeting with the minister of education, science, and technology, and representatives of the Ministry of Health in Lagos. A communique issued at the end of the meeting says that the draft conversion table prepared for the implementation of the elongated university salary scale for the staff of parastatals of the ministries was made available to the officers of the two unions who accepted it. The communique agreed that the ministries will take all necessary steps to pay the minimum wage to workers and parastatals with arrears from January this year before the end of July. The two unions had earlier embarked on an

industrial action in support of their demand for the payment of the minimum wage announced by the president in this year's budget.

**Senegal****Communiqué Gives Changes in Armed Forces**

AB2806120591 Dakar PANA in French 1116 GMT  
26 Jun 91

[Text] Dakar, 26 Jun (PANA)—Senegal will soon have two generals and three brigadier generals according to a communique published after last night's cabinet meeting. The cabinet also announced President Abdou Diouf's decision to promote and nominate officers of the Senegalese Armed Forces.

The communique adds that Major General Mamadou Mansour Seck, chief of general staff of the Armed Forces, and Major General Doudou Diop, chief of staff of the President of the Republic, both 56 years old, have been promoted to Air Force and Army generals. This takes effect on 1 July 1991 for Maj. Gen. Seck and 1 January 1992 for Maj. Gen. Diop.

The same communique announced that Gendarmerie Colonel Francois Gomis (55), Army Engineers Corps Colonel Mohamadou Keita (53), commanding officer of the Senegalese contingent in the Gulf, and Doctor Colonel Professor Amadou Diagne (54) have been nominated major generals as of 1 July.

**Sierra Leone****Rebel Leader Comments on Uprising in South**

AB2806104991 London BBC World Service in English  
1709 GMT 26 Jun 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] It is quite some time since we heard from Sierra Leone rebel leader, Corporal Foday Sankoh. He claimed to be behind the uprising in southern Sierra Leone that began in March this year. The Sierra Leone authorities laid the blame squarely at the feet of Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor. Be that as it may, in recent weeks, by all accounts, the rebels have been steadily pushed back by the Sierra Leone Army with help from Guineans and Nigerians. Well, this afternoon, Cpl. Sankoh called us up. Robin White asked him if he would not accept that he was now losing.

[Begin recording] [Sankoh] Oh no. Let me say Koindu up to Daru Barracks, which have been surrendered by my troops. I am now between Segbwema and Kenama. [sentence as heard] And from Zimmi, I am up to Pujehun District, the headquarters, Sumbuya, and Potoru, where last Sunday [23 June] we had a bitter fight with the Guinean and Nigerian troops. So my rebellion is still going on.

[White] You mentioned Daru and how you are around Daru, but we have spoken to people who have actually been up to Daru and they say that your attack on Daru was completely driven off.

[Sankoh] Oh no. Daru Barracks has been surrounded by my troops, by my freedom fighters. Look, Kailahun District is under my control.

[White] Yes but you say you surround Daru, but you have totally failed to take it.

[Sankoh] Oh no. Look, this is a guerrilla warfare. I know what, we know what we are doing; we are using guerrilla tactics. It is not every inch of the country we have to capture.

[White] Those Sierra Leoneans who have come across you and your groups say that all you are interested in is moving into a town, looting a few things, and forcing people to carry those looted goods back into Liberia.

[Sankoh] Oh no! We are fighting. In fact look, I invited your people the other day to come around and see what is happening, all is false. I tell you, Robin, this is a struggle that nobody can put down. Momoh, in fact the Sierra Leone Army is no more army. [sentence as heard] We have destroyed the Sierra Leone Army. Now the Nigerians, who are using chemical weapons against us, and the Guineans, these are the two forces we are fighting, plus the remnants of Doe, who have been in exile in Sierra Leone.

[White] You talk about chemical weapons. What do you mean?

[Sankoh] Oh yes. You know the chemical bombs they are using against the rebels, but our concern is the civilian population. We freedom fighters, we are guerrillas; we know how to handle them. In fact some of the weapons we captured, we used these weapons against them.

[White] Corporal Sankoh, every day we get dozens of letters from Sierra Leoneans writing to us and not one of them supports you. What do you think of that?

[Sankoh] Oh yes. Look Robin, they... [changes thought] Now look, this struggle is a people's war, and if you can visit the rural area—that is in the provinces—there we have our supporters. Do not mind about Freetown.

[White] No, we get letters from the rural areas as well, and none of them say that they support you.

[Sankoh] Oh look Robin, the people are with me. The people are fighting along with us. As far as Sierra Leoneans are concerned, they are fighting with us and they welcome the struggle. It is being carried out by them. They are feeding us. They are giving us support. So there is no need to worry about what the world is saying or what Momoh with his collaborators are saying in Freetown. Freetown is just a mess. You should come to the provinces.

[White] This is not people in Freetown I am saying; this is people in the provinces who say that all that you have done is set back development in the areas. They have not been able to farm, and because of that there is going to be starvation this year.

[Sankoh] Oh no, no. The people are doing their farming. Even in the liberated zones people are going on with their normal business, especially our farmers. We give them a chance—oh, no starvation; we have a lot of food. It is better for you people to come around and see what is happening in the liberated zone and parts of the country.

[White] Could I ask you where you are calling from?

[Sankoh] Oh Robin, this is a secret. My present location, no need for me to tell you. I am out of the country. I am touring West Africa, and as far as ... [changes thought] I will be going to East Africa (?safe) from here.

[White] Are you sure you have not run away?

[Sankoh] Pardon?

[White] Are you sure you have not run away?

[Sankoh] Run away? Oh Robin look, run away from who? Momoh knows the type of person he is dealing with. Momoh would not like the people of Sierra Leone to know that Cpl. Foday Sankoh is fighting, so he is going all out spending lots of dollars, backed by America, to fool the world and convince the world not to know the truth, but one fine day the truth will come out. [end recording]

## Togo

### Soldiers Block Radio, TV Station Entrances

AB2806134691 Paris AFP in French 1147 GMT  
28 Jun 91

[Text] Abidjan, 28 Jun (AFP)—Dozens of soldiers took position at the Togolese radio and television station entrances in Lome this morning preventing the staff and the public from entering the building, an informed source contacted by telephone from Abidjan disclosed. The Togolese radio, monitored from Abidjan, was broadcasting only music late this morning. Furthermore, other soldiers shot in the air this morning near the Army headquarters at Agoenyieve, a village 15 km north of Lome, the same source disclosed. These soldiers are reportedly dissatisfied with their living conditions and salaries. These reports could not be confirmed by official sources late this morning.

**Disrupt Radio Programs**

AB2806130091 Lome *Voix de la Nouvelle Marche*  
Network in French 1230 GMT 28 Jun 91

[Text] A group of soldiers who came in groups of 10 to the Togolese radio and television station this morning succeeded in preventing the normal transmission of our programs. This action was to back a salary related demand, mainly the payment of housing allowances. When the president of the Republic, who has been absent from Lome since yesterday, was informed, he gave instructions for everything to return to normal.

**Government-Opposition Group Postpones Conference**

AB2806105991 Lome *Voix de la Nouvelle Marche*  
Network in French 0615 GMT 26 Jun 91

[Communiqué issued by the joint government-opposition commission on the national conference in Lome on 25 June]

[Text] The joint government-opposition commission charged with preparing the national conference held a meeting on 25 June 1991 to examine the following questions:

1. Security arrangements for the participants in the national conference;
2. Modalities for the choice of delegates;
3. Radio and television coverage of the deliberations;
4. Immunity for the participants in the national conference;
5. Complaints submitted to the commission.

On security arrangements, they failed to reach an agreement. On selecting delegates, they agreed that this should

be done by a vote. If voting fails to appoint delegates, another arrangement—the least controversial—should be made. In any case, a report must be prepared on appointments, and it will serve during the accreditation of delegates.

On all other points—immunity for participants and complaints from various socioprofessional groups and associations—they agreed to pursue and step up their discussions in order to work out the best arrangements for a smooth national conference. In this vein, they agreed to delay the official opening of the national conference convened by Decree 91/179 of 25 June 1991 and scheduled for 26 June 1991. The conference will effectively begin as soon as possible, precisely five (?full) days after the preparatory commission has ended its deliberations, with such end having been duly established and announced.

Issued in Lome on 25 June 1991

Signed: On behalf of the government, Barry Moussa Barque; on behalf of the Coordinating Committee of the Democratic Opposition, Messan Gnininvi

**Eyadema Receives Liberian 'Special Emissary'**

AB2806132591 Lome *Voix de la Nouvelle Marche*  
Network in French 1230 GMT 26 Jun 91

[Excerpt] This morning President Gnassingbe Eyadema granted separate audiences to Liberian Interim President Amos Sawyer's legal adviser and to the U.S. envoy to Togo. The Liberian special emissary, Mr. Johnny Lewis, came to convey the greetings and gratitude of Dr. Amos Sawyer to the Togolese head of state. He told the press after the audience that both Presidents Eyadema and Sawyer were anxious to see an end to the problems facing their countries. He stressed that Mr. Sawyer hoped that Togo would find peaceful solutions to its political problems. [passage omitted]

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